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ABSTRACT

The study examined participation in arts-related activities, compared to other leisure activities; demand for greater participation; and the nature of barriers to increased participation in the American South. Data analyzed came from two sources: (1) from three previously conducted Harris polls which during the 1970's had surveyed a total sample of 5985 persons from all parts of the United States; and (2) from a survey of approximately 2300 Southerners conducted in 1978 by the Human Resources Research Organization specifically for this project. Findings include the following. It appears that there are regional differences in nearly all sorts of organized leisure activity, including art-related activity. Southerners are less likely than non-Southerners to engage in most of the activities examined. The analysis suggests that differences in participation do not reflect the fact that Southerners face greater barriers. Indeed, the data suggest that they face fewer barriers, and that removing barriers to participation might well accentuate existing regional differences. Nonwhites and women are much more likely than whites and men to indicate that there are arts-related activities they would like to engage in, but do not. Present participation in some activity and demand for additional participation are almost always positively associated. (RM)

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LEISURE TIME USE IN THE SOUTH:
A SECONDARY ANALYSIS

by

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INTRODUCTION

We have attempted in this report to examine several related questions about leisure-time activity--particularly arts-related activity--in the American South:

(1) What are the nature and extent of South/non-South differences in such activity? (Chapter One)

(2) Are those differences due to regional differences in such demographic factors as education, income, and the like, or in opportunities to participate in various activities, or do they reflect regional "cultural" differences--i.e., differences in tastes and preferences which persist even with other things equal? (Chapter Three)

(3) Is there any evidence that regional differences in these respects are diminishing? (Chapter One and, by implication, Chapter Three)

(4) Are there regional differences in "barriers to participation" and, if so, would removing those barriers reduce the regional differences in participation? (Chapter Four)

(5) How is leisure-time activity organized--i.e., what kinds of activities "go together" in the sense that they attract the same participants? (Chapter Two for the U.S. as a whole; Chapter Five for the South, specifically)

(6) Are there some activities that appear to be "preconditions" for others? (Chapter Two for the U.S. as a whole; Chapter Five for the South alone)

(7) Within the South, what is the structure and what are the determinants of "demand" for leisure-time activities of various sorts? That is, who would like to do what, regardless of whether they are actually doing it at present? (Chapter Six)

(8) What sorts of Southerners exhibit substantial levels of unmet demand for arts-related activities? (Chapter Seven)

(9) What is the relation between participation in various activities and demand for additional participation in the same activities? (Chapter Eight)

(10) Is lack of information about the availability of arts-related activities a significant "barrier" to participation, and if so, for what sorts of Southerners is this barrier most pronounced? (Chapter Nine)

We have been able to answer some of these questions more satisfactorily than others. Among the conclusions we draw are the following (the chapters indicated supply the evidence for the conclusions, as well as some important qualifications):

(1) It appears that there are regional differences in nearly all sorts of organized leisure activity, including (and perhaps especially) arts-related activity. Southerners are less likely than non-Southerners to engage in most of the activities we examined. Exceptions include unstructured "visiting" with friends and family, activities involving country music and religious music, and church-related activities. Region is not the most important determinant of activity levels (education and age appear to be more important), but regional differences are roughly the size of racial and religious differences: i.e., about the size of other differences that might be construed as "ethnic."

(2) We were unable to "wash out" most of the regional differences in activity levels with statistical controls for economic and demographic factors and for measures of opportunity to participate. It appears, in other words, that we are dealing with regional cultural differences rather than with the effects of regional differences in income, education, proximity to cultural facilities, and so forth.

(3) We do not have data adequate to address the question of whether these regional differences are decreasing, but there is no indication that they did decrease during the 1970s, and the fact that they hold up when economic and demographic factors are controlled suggests that regional convergence in these respects will not necessarily produce convergence with respect to leisure-time activity.

(4) The evidence bearing on regional differences in "barriers to participation" is not satisfactory, but our analysis suggests that differences in participation do not reflect the fact that Southerners face greater barriers. Indeed, the data suggest that they face fewer barriers, and that removing barriers to participation might well accentuate existing regional differences.

(5) Leisure-time activity appears to be "clustered," both in the South and in the U.S. as a whole: in particular, there are clusters of arts-related activities, to the extent that we may speak of an audience for the arts. Participation in one form of arts-related activity increases the likelihood of participation in others, although within the audience for the arts there are clear divisions between active participants and spectators. (See Chapters Two and Five.)

(6) There is little evidence that some activities are "preconditions" for others, and where we do have such evidence it is not clear (and cannot be clear with cross-sectional data like those we have) that one activity causes the other. There is a suggestion that some sorts of common, relatively undemanding activities--like attending adult education classes--may stimulate activity of other sorts, possibly through introducing people to a "social circle" where the other sorts of activities are common.

(7) The evidence on "demand" for activities of various sorts (Chapter Six) does not lend itself to easy summary. Perhaps the most striking result is the importance of early exposure and participation in predicting adults' preferences. While the data do not allow us to say whether such early experiences cause adults' preferences (in which case, arts programs in the schools, for instance, would be a valuable "audience-building" investment) or whether those experiences are merely indicators of something else (family environment, for instance) which causes the adult patterns, the question is clearly an important one, and the Endowment might well undertake research to look at it more closely.

(8) When we look at unmet demand for arts-related activities, we find a striking pattern: race and sex are nearly the only important predictors. Nonwhites and women are much more likely than whites and men to indicate that there are arts-related activities they would like to engage in, but do not. Interpretation of this finding is complicated, however, by the fact that there is a substantial racial difference in unmet demand for watching the arts on television: a sort of activity where one might suppose racial differences would be

minimized. We speculate on the reasons for these patterns in Chapter Seven.

(9) Present participation in some activity and demand for additional participation are almost always positively associated. With these data, however, we cannot say to what extent participation produces demand, rather than vice versa. The data are consistent with the hypothesis that demand can be built by encouraging initial participation, but the question requires additional research, with a different research design.

(10) There are indications--not conclusive--that one barrier to participation, especially for poorly-educated Southerners, may be lack of information about existing opportunities to participate in various sorts of arts-related activities. We find no evidence that physical handicaps constitute a significant barrier to participation.

With the data we have, we are not able to offer strong recommendations for policy. There are suggestions, here and there—for instance, that the church plays an important role in arts-related activity in the South, that early exposure to the arts is a major determinant of later attitudes, that participation in arts-related activities is strongly related to moving in social circles where such participation is common and "expected," that ignorance of existing opportunities is common--suggestions which may have implications for Endowment policy. But we would hesitate to draw those implications ourselves, and in any case the premises themselves could use closer examination, with research especially designed to examine them. We have indicated below where such research would be appropriate.

We offer this report as a preliminary and tentative examination of the environment within which the Endowment is operating, with particular emphasis on the somewhat peculiar environment of the American South.

CHAPTER 1

Regional Differences in Leisure-Time Use

In the later parts of this study, we shall be looking at a survey of the leisure-time activity of residents of the American South. This survey, conducted by the Human Resources Research Organization (HumRRO) and reported by Orend (n.d.), was undertaken for the National Endowment for the Arts to examine (1) participation in arts-related activities, compared to other leisure activities, (2) demand for greater participation, and (3) the nature of barriers to increased participation.

A special study of residents of the South could make a good deal of sense. Either they are different from other Americans, in which case the South may well require special attention from the Endowment--perhaps even a unique regional arts policy--or else they are much the same as other Americans, in which case, the information in the HumRRO survey will aid in formulating policy for the nation as a whole. But we do not know whether Southerners are, in fact, representative Americans or a special case.

A variety of previous research suggests that if any major American regional group is culturally distinct, it is Southerners (see, e.g., Glenn and Simmons, Reed, Gastil). Stereotypes aside, however, we know relatively little about regional differences in leisure-time activity. Not only do we not know much about what the differences are, we do not even know whether they are big enough to be important. One body of theory suggests that, in all respects, regional differences should be diminishing (e.g., McKinney and Bourque), but what evidence we have suggests that this argument has been grossly overstated.

In this chapter, as a prelude to our examination of the HumRRO data, we shall look at evidence on South/non-South differences from three Harris Polls conducted during the 1970s, asking (1) what are the regional differences in leisure-time activity, (2) whether they are large enough to be of any importance, (3) how regional differences in arts-related activity compare to regional differences of other sorts, and (4) whether there is any indication that these differences are of decreasing significance. A later chapter will attempt to explain these regional differences, asking, for instance, whether they are due to regional differences in wealth or educational levels, or in access to the arts, on the one hand, or to persisting regional differences in taste, or "culture" (in the anthropological sense), on the other.

The Harris Surveys

The three surveys for analysis were made available to us by the Harris Organization, through the Louis Harris Political Data Library, located at the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.* The first of the three, conducted in January 1973, was the basis for the Associated Council of the Arts report, "Americans and the Arts" (q.v.), and incorporated responses from a sample of 3,005 adults (over 16) from the non-institutionalized population of the contiguous United States. The second survey, conducted in June 1975, asked a smaller set of questions (some repeated from the earlier study) of a similar sample of 1555. The third study was conducted in June 1978 (nearly six years after the first), and addressed similar (but seldom identical) questions to a sample of 1425.

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*The cooperation of Louis Harris and Associates and of the staff of the Institute (especially Elizabeth Fink) is gratefully acknowledged.

The samples for these studies, like those of most major commercial polling organizations, are multi-stage area probability samples, down to the level of city blocks or similar units, stratified by region and size of place. At the block level, selection proceeds by non-probability methods (see Presser for more detail). Strictly speaking, it is inappropriate to compute tests of statistical significance on data collected in this fashion, but we have done so, using the conventional estimate that sampling error for samples of this sort is 1 1/2 times that for simple random samples of the same size. We have, in addition, used the unweighted numbers (so our estimates may differ in detail from those presented in "Americans and the Arts"), reflecting the experience of most secondary analysts that such a procedure makes little practical difference.

Definition of "the South"

Harris, in common with the Gallup Organization and other public opinion research agencies, defines the South to include the eleven former Confederate States plus Kentucky and Oklahoma. The HumRRO study, to which we shall turn later, excludes Oklahoma and includes West Virginia.

There are three points to be made about the definitions. One is that, while neither is ideal, there is no ideal definition which follows state lines, and these two are both satisfactory (see Reed, b, for a discussion). The second point is that such a small proportion of the South's population resides in Oklahoma or West Virginia that whether these states are included or not makes little practical difference in the aggregate statistics. Finally, the effects of any error--including "non-Southern" areas in the South, or excluding Southern areas from it--will be conservative, and will serve to reduce any regional differences observed. To the extent that an area is culturally "Southern" our conclusions will apply to it, whether it was included in our working definition of the region or not.

Measurement of Activities

Appendix I lists the questions from the three surveys that are examined in this chapter. Although the response categories varied from survey to survey and even from question to question within a particular survey, we have chosen to dichotomize where possible by combining those responses which indicate any participation at all in the activity in question. This facilitates comparisons between differently-worded questions and also, in the case of the many activities which are quite unusual in the general population, builds up the number of "participants" to a level where statistical analysis becomes possible. In general, however, we have taken "cannot recall," "don't know," and the like to indicate non-participation, a decision defensible, we feel, on both methodological and conceptual grounds.

To organize the presentation and discussion of these data, we have grouped the activities using a typology constructed on three dimensions: (1) whether the activity is "arts-related" or not (using, in general, a generous definition of what is "arts-related"); (2) whether the activity is or can be engaged in at home, or whether it requires the participant to go out; and (3) whether the "participation" is active (playing an instrument, singing, making pots, etc.) or passive (watching, listening, attending, and so forth). We thought that perhaps regional differences would be more pronounced for some types of activities than for others, and we have constructed summary measures of participation for each type of activity to see whether this expectation is correct.

Sahara of the Bozart?

As Tables 1.1-4 reveal, Southerners are less likely than other Americans to engage in nearly all of the "arts-related" activities about which we have information. Only four of 58 questions show Southerners to be more active as participants in or consumers of the arts, and two of those four questions dealt

Table 1.1 Regional Differences in Active, Away-from-Home, Arts Activities

Activity	Percent Participating South	Percent Participating Non-South	Percentage Difference* South-Non-South
1973			
Performing ballet	3	4	-1
Choral singing	13	7	+6
Working in theater	1	2	-1
Playing in a musical group	2	3	0
Performing for others	26	33	-7
1975			
Choir or choral group	14	10	+4
Working in theater	2	3	-1
Folk, ethnic, dancing	5	5	0
			Ratio $\frac{\text{(non-South)}}{\text{South}}$
Average number of positive responses to 8 items:	.66	.67	1.02
Average number of positive responses to 6 items (choral singing omitted):	.39	.50	1.28

Underlined percentage differences are statistically significant (p<.05).

*May not equal difference of percentages at left, due to rounding error.

Table 1.2 Regional Differences in Passive, Away-From-Home Arts Activities

Activity	Percent Participating		Percentage Difference
	South	non-South	(South - non-South)
1973			
Musical performances	45	63	-17
Art shows	60	77	-18
Theater, movies, etc.	59	75	-17
Theater	18	38	-20
Dance, ballet	4	11	-7
Concerts, opera	18	30	-12
Art museums	37	54	-17
Science museums	37	55	-18
History museums	43	62	-19
1975			
Movies	67	78	-12
Museums, art shows, historical sites	48	66	-18
Live theater	37	58	-21
Popular music performances	42	49	-7
Live classical music	18	27	-9
Live dance	16	25	-9
Art museum, in last twelve months	30	47	-17
Science museum in last twelve months	27	36	-9
History museum in last twelve months	32	42	-10
Arts presentations (plays, opera, etc.)	38	58	-21
1978			
Getting cultural enrichment	8	12	-4
Movies	63	74	-11
Theater, dance, concert	43	61	-18
			Ratio (non-South / South)
Average number of positive responses to 22 items	7.90	10.98	1.39

Table 1.3 Regional Differences in Active, at-Home, Arts Activities

Activity	Percentage South	Participating non-South	Percentage Difference (South - non-South)
Playing a musical instrument	13	20	-6
Painting, drawing or sculpture	11	17	-6
Creative writing	6	11	-6
Crafts	28	41	-14
Photography, hobbies	48	63	-16
"Creative activities" in general	45	64	-18
1975			
Painting, drawing, or sculpture	24	33	-9
Painting or drawing	19	23	-4
Pottery, ceramics	7	9	-2
Sculpting or modeling with clay	5	5	0
Writes stories, poetry	10	14	-4
Playing a musical instrument	15	20	-5
Photography	14	21	-7
1978			
Photography, hobbies	51	64	-13
Artistic pursuits, like painting etc.	32	42	-10
Playing a musical instrument	23	26	-3
			Ratio (non-South) / South
Average number of positive responses to 16 items:	3.51	4.73	1.35

with the same activity (singing in choirs and choral groups). To the 58 questions, Southerners responded positively, on the average, to 17.3, non-Southerners to 22.2. Over 60% of non-Southerners reported going to art shows (77%); to movies (75% in 1973, 78% in 1975, 74% in 1978); to museums, art shows and historical sites (66§); musical performances (63%); history museums (62%); and "theater, dance, or concerts" (61%). Over 60% engage in photography (63%); "hobbies, e.g. photography" (64%); and "creative activities" in general (64%). 68% listen to popular music. A majority of non-Southerners responded positively to twenty of the 58 items (some of them, to be sure, only marginally "arts-related.")

By comparison, only eight of the 58 items elicit the attention of a majority of Southerners, and only two--"listening to music at home" and "listening to country and western music"--engage more than 60% of the Southern population.

This regional difference is evident in all four tables, 1.1-4, but it appears to be strongest in Table 1.2, displaying passive, "consumption" activities, engaged in outside the home. On the average, non-Southerners are nearly half again as likely as Southerners to engage in any particular activity. Whether this reflects a regional difference in access to concerts, plays, museums, and the like, or a cultural lack of interest is a subject we shall examine below.

The smallest average regional difference is found in Table 1.1, displaying active, away-from-home participation in the arts. Only two of the differences shown are statistically significant; one of the two that are indicates an area where Southerners are more active than non-Southerners, namely singing with choirs and choral groups. It would be an exaggeration to compare the South's role in American cultural life to that of Wales in Britain, but this difference (like that for "listening to religious music") speaks to the importance of religious traditions and of the churches in the cultural life of the region. Certainly the role of black and white Southern churches in creating and sustaining American folk music is well-known; moreover, if Handel is to be heard at all in many small towns it will be in a Christmas performance at the Baptist or Methodist church.

Tables 1.3 and 1.4 show roughly intermediate levels of regional difference. Table 1.3 displays activities that, for most people, would come under the heading of "hobbies." It is not clear to what extent the consistent regional difference reflects a regional difference in the proportion of professional artists and craftspeople, although such differences surely exist, with consequences for regional markets and support structures that reinforce existing patterns. In any case, the differences in Table 1.3 are relatively small, reflecting the fact that few people in any region engage in most of these activities.

Finally, Table 1.4 displays passive, "at-home" activities--all of them, as it happens, having to do with listening to music of various kinds. Here we see some regional differences that probably reflect different regional subcultures. Although nearly all respondents in all regions report that they listen to music at home, Southerners and non-Southerners clearly listen to different sorts of music. Country-and-western music led the field in the South in 1973, while Broadway musicals (another region's music) tied with jazz for next-to-last. Outside the South, "popular" music was most popular, while second place went to folk music or to classical music, depending on which survey you examine. It is not clear that country-and-western music is of interest to the Endowment, and certainly it seems to need little in the way of nurture or support, but since it is one of the few regional differences in Southerner's favor, that we shall examine the audience for country-and-western music in more detail in Chapter Three. If regional differences in this respect are decreasing, it is because the rest of the country is coming to resemble the South--not the model of convergence most planners have had in mind.

There is one other datum in Table 1.4 which will repay attention. Note that, although non-Southerners are more likely than Southerners to report that they listen to classical music, they are no more likely to report that they buy it. We should not let our discussion of average levels of demand obscure the possibility that there is within the South a respectably large "hard core" would-be or present audience for the arts--a possibility that we shall return to later.

Leisure Activities of Other Sorts

We are left with the fact, however, that Southerners are less likely to be engaged, actively or passively, in nearly all arts-related activities, whether through lack of opportunity, lack of education, or invincible lack of interest we cannot yet say. Since there do not appear to be major regional differences in the availability of leisure time (data not shown here) clearly they are doing something else with it. To evaluate the data on arts-related activities, we need to look in more detail at the alternatives. When we do, some puzzling facts emerge.

Tables 1.5-9 display some 52 items from the same Harris polls asking about other sorts of leisure-time activities. Only 12 of the 52 showed Southerners as more likely than other Americans to do whatever was being asked about, and only two of those differences were statistically significant.

Southerners, it appears, are simply less likely than other Americans to do most things, or at least most of the things it occurs to Louis Harris and Associates to ask questions about. They tend to say as much: among things they do more of are "take naps," "rest up after work," and "just do nothing" (although the last two differences are not significant). When they are not resting, however, their churches absorb much energy and attention. The other significant difference in the South's favor has to do with "church or club activities."

Table 1.5 Regional Differences in Active, Away-from-Home, Non-arts Activities Participation

Activity	Percentage South	Participating non-South	Percentage Difference (South-non-South)
1973			
Outdoor activities	68	73	-5
Competitive sports	36	50	-14
Social activities	83	89	-6
Continuing education	41	58	-17
Nature studies	43	55	-13
Weekend trips	75	82	-7
1975			
Outdoor activities	67	66	+1
Competitive sports	50	59	-9
Social activities	87	94	-6
1978			
Outdoor activities	66	69	-3
Competitive sports	52	66	-14
Social activities	79	88	-9
Continuing education	42	46	-5
Going somewhere for a change of scenery	80	87	-7
Doing volunteer work	54	51	+3
Church and club activities	69	56	+13
Political activities	35	35	0
Disco dancing	22	27	-5
Gambling	18	29	-10
Earning extra money	49	55	-5
			Ratio $\left(\frac{\text{non-South}}{\text{South}}\right)$
Average number of positive responses to 21 items:	11.16	12.35	1.11

Table 1.6 Regional Differences in Passive, Away-from-Home, Non-Arts Activities Participation

Activity	Percentage South	Participating non-South	Percentage Difference (South-non-South)
1973			
Attending spectator sports	64	70	-6
1975			
Attending spectator sports	63	68	-5
1978			
Attending spectator sports	60	62	-2
			Ratio (non-South) / South
Average number of positive responses to 3 items:	1.87	2.00	1.07

Table 1.7 Regional Differences in Active at-Home Non-arts Activities Participation

Activity	Percentage South	Participating non-South	Percentage Difference (South-non-South)
1973			
Needlework	45	48	-3
Gourmet cooking	60	65	-5
Gardening	53	57	-4
Collecting	38	50	-12
Yoga, body exercise	29	37	-8
Keeping up with fashion	64	72	-8
1975			
Needlework	31	39	-8
Gardening	68	69	-1
Handicrafts	47	54	-7
Read Books and short stories	77	89	-12
1978			
Playing cards	64	72	-8
Fixing things around the house	89	88	+1
Eating	94	92	+2
Having sex	74	81	-7
Read books	80	86	-6
			Ratio $\frac{\text{(non-South)}}{\text{South}}$
Average number of positive responses to 15 items:	9.13	9.99	1.09

Table 1.8 Regional Differences in Passive at-Home Non-arts Activities Participation

Activity	Percentage Participating South	 non-South	Percentage Difference (South-non-South)
1978			
Watching television	95	95	0
Listening to radio	89	94	-5
Taking naps	78	71	+7
Doing nothing	72	69	+2
			Ratio (non-South) / South
Average number of positive responses to 4 items:	3.34	3.29	.99

Table 1.9 Regional Differences in Miscellaneous Other Non-arts Activities

Activity	Percentage Participating		Percentage Difference (South-non-South)
	South	non-South	
Getting away from problems	32	29	+2
Resting after work	33	26	+7
Develop skills, abilities	24	29	-5
Keep in good physical shape	30	35	-5
Develop new social relationships	11	15	-4
Do new things	21	27	-7
Develop one's personality	18	14	+4
Have a good time with people close to you	64	62	+2
Help others	33	26	+7
			Ratio $\frac{\text{(non-South)}}{\text{South}}$
Average number of positive responses to 9 items:	2.66	2.63	.99

The point is that, although it appears the arts are "under-supported" in the South, so are other sorts of formal, organized activities—with the single and significant exception of church work. Otherwise, Southerners, compared to other Americans, seem to prefer being to doing. There are no significant differences in the importance placed on getting away from daily problems, developing one's personality, having a good time with family and friends, helping other people, volunteer work, fixing things around the house, watching television, outdoor activities (hunting, fishing, skiing, etc.), or eating.* But Southerners are less likely to participate in, or even to watch, most sports; less likely to engage in political activity, disco dancing, or nature study; less likely to take up yoga, gourmet cooking, or stamp collecting.

To be sure, as the summary measures at the bottoms of Tables 1.1-9 indicate, the differences in arts-related activities are somewhat larger, in general. But these differences, we suggest, are simply an exaggeration of a pattern evident for other sorts of leisure-time activities. An implication is that the problem of building mass participation in the arts or a mass audience for them may be different in the South from that in other regions. The activities that compete at present for the time and attention of Southerners are not exactly the same as those that other Americans confront.

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*The categories are Harris's, and suggest one of the problems with such an inquiry. Each can serve to disguise regional differences as well as to reveal them. It is well-established, for instance, that Southerners are more likely to hunt than other Americans (e.g., Reed, a); presumably they are less likely to ski; Harris's category obscures both these differences. Similarly, virtually identical rates of television viewing do not show that the programs being watched are quite different, but they are (Reed, a).

Trends in the Regional Difference

A cursory examination of the tables in this chapter reveals a good many fluctuations, some of them extreme, in the absolute levels of participation in various activities, as measured by the different surveys. In the absence of additional information, it would seem prudent to attribute them to the (incalculable) effects of variations in question-wording and response categories.

When we examine the regional differences, however, we find greater stability--as we would expect, if the question-wording effects were similar for Southerners and non-Southerners. The over-all pattern of lower participation by Southerners in nearly all activities is clearly evident in all three surveys. In the one case where we have a repeated question which shows a higher level of participation for Southerners (in choirs and choral groups), that difference is replicated as well.

If we turn from examining the direction of the differences to looking at their size, there is no indication that regional differences diminished substantially during the five-and-a-half year interval between the first survey and the last. Individual differences change: some increase, some decrease, and the explanation for the apparent change is as likely to be sampling error as any underlying change in the population.

This should not be surprising. Although regional differences can diminish quite rapidly (as, in fact, regional differences in white racial attitudes were doing, during the seventies), the more usual finding is that they decrease very slowly, if at all, at a rate that would not be discernable over a half-decade.

The implications of this absence of any marked trend are encouraging. They suggest that the data from 1973 illustrate a pattern still apparent at the time of the HumRRO survey. Since the HumRRO study examined the leisure-time activities of a sample only of Southerners, we can assume that a concurrent study outside the South would have shown higher levels of activity. In addition, since there was little apparent change after 1973, we can analyze the 1973 data--far and away the most satisfactory--and draw conclusions applicable to later years as well. That will be the task of the next two chapters.

Summary

Analysis of Harris Polls conducted in 1973, 1975, and 1978 established the following:

(1) Residents of the South were less likely than other Americans to participate in nearly all arts-related activities.

- (a) This difference is most pronounced for those activities involving passive, outside-the-home participation: going to concerts, recitals, museums, etc.
- (b) Exceptions to this pattern involve distinctive Southern musical and/or religious traditions. Southerners are more likely to sing in choirs or choral groups, more likely to listen to religious and country-and-western music.

(2) Residents of the South are not more likely to participate in most other sorts of leisure-time activity that the polls examined. In fact, in most cases, they were less likely to engage in these as well, despite having as much or more disposable leisure time, on the average.

- (a) These differences were particularly pronounced for formal, organized activities (with the single, significant exception of church activities).
- (b) Differences were smallest, or reversed, for unstructured activity (or non-activity) by oneself or with family and friends, and for church-related activities.

(3) There was no discernable trend toward diminution or exaggeration of these regional differences over the 5 1/2 years in question, suggesting that conclusions drawn from the earlier data will apply to the later period as well.

CHAPTER 2

The Structure of Leisure Activity

The array of activities we examined in Chapter One is too large to deal with easily once we move beyond simple questions of regional difference. In this chapter, we shall look at the way these activities are related to one another, to see whether the bewildering variety of individual items can be reduced to a smaller number of clusters of activities that "go together" empirically, such that those who do one of the things in a cluster are likely to do the others as well.

This operation will let us look at participation in different "activity-clusters," rather than at each activity separately, and its results will be of some interest in themselves: they will indicate the patterns of interest of several different audiences, or markets, in the American population. Moreover, we will attempt to examine the question of whether some activities are prerequisites for others (although, as we shall see, it is extraordinarily difficult to get at the question of whether one activity leads to another).

The Structure of Leisure Activity

To examine these questions, we have used data on 39 activities from the 1973 Harris survey.* The procedure of "multidimensional scaling" allows us to construct a "map" of these activities, where activities that tend to be pursued jointly (that is, by the same people) are represented as close together, and those with few participants in common are depicted as far apart.**

---

*In our judgment, of the three Harris surveys in hand, the 1973 study had the most satisfactory catalogue of activities. We omitted three items--"attend musical performances," "go to art shows or museums," and "attend theater or movies"--because other, more specific items asked about the same activities. The item "listening to religious music" was also omitted, due to a regrettable data-processing error, which would be prohibitively expensive to correct. This item can indicate that a respondent listens to anything from "I Believe" to the

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Bach B-Minor Mass to "On Jordan's Stormy Banks," so it is not surprising to find that its strongest correlations are with listening to country-and-western music and with the cluster of activities we have labelled (other) "music-listening," below. Since listening to country-and-western music is essentially uncorrelated with other sorts of music-listening, it may be that "listening to religious music" implicates such a heterogeneous group of activities that its inclusion would have been misleading in any case. The item's correlations indicate that it would have appeared as in the lower-left quadrant of Figures 2-1 and 2-3, although not so "far out" as country music.

**The computer program that constructs this map requires, as input, information on the association of each item with every other item—in this case, some 741 two-item relationships. There are many ways these measures overlap can be constructed, but there is good reason to suppose that the precise method chosen has rather little effect on the resulting map (Marsden and Laumann). For this analysis, we computed the product-moment correlation coefficient (r) for each pair of items, using the original, uncollapsed set of responses, rather than the dichotomies used in the last chapter. The resulting array is presented as Appendix II-A to this chapter.

Thus, "attending science museums" and "attending history museums" should be mapped close together, since the two activities attract the same audience, to a great extent ($r = .60$). "Listening to country music" and "going to the theater," on the other hand, should be relatively "far apart," since those who do one tend not to do the other ($r = -.18$).

Unfortunately for simplicity of presentation, a two-dimensional map is not always adequate to represent the relations among the variables. In this case, it appears that at least five dimensions, and preferably six, are required, in order to depict accurately the overlaps in participation.* Needless to say, the resulting map cannot be displayed on a two-dimensional page. Figure 2-1, however, may give some idea of what is going on: it shows the projection of the first two (and most important) of the six dimensions that the analysis indicates are necessary.

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*There are two customary criteria for the "adequacy" of one of these maps. Both measure the similarity between (1) the "distance" between each pair of points on the map and (2) the correlation between the two items. A "stress coefficient" less than 0.1 and/or a satisfactory multiple correlation coefficient (R^2) between the distances and the best order-preserving transformation of the correlations

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indicates that the map does not do great violence to the relations among the items. In this case, as the stress coefficients in the table below indicate, maps with fewer than five dimensions must put too many items together that belong apart. The five-dimensional map might have been adequate, but we chose to work with six dimensions, to raise the R^2 over 0.9--reasoning that six dimensions are no more difficult to interpret than five.

Dimensions	Stress	R^2
2	.279	.66
3	.181	.78
4	.131	.85
5	.098	.89
6	.080	.92

(see Kruskal and Wish for additional details on multidimensional scaling).

In addition, we have tried to indicate what the third dimension looks like by circling with solid lines those activities that should "stand out" from the page, and circling with dotted lines those that should be thought of as "behind" the page. Those with no circles at all are located approximately on the surface of the page.* A few examples may help in understanding the figure:

> Attending the theater, going to concerts, and going to dance performances are activities with similar "locations"--in the upper-right quadrant and "behind" the page.
>
> Crafts and collections are both at the left, and "in front" of the page.
>
> Outdoor activities, competitive sports, spectator sports, and listening to rock music are grouped in the lower-right quadrant, and "in front" of the page. They are diametrically opposed to listening to classical music, which is in the opposite quadrant and "behind" the page.

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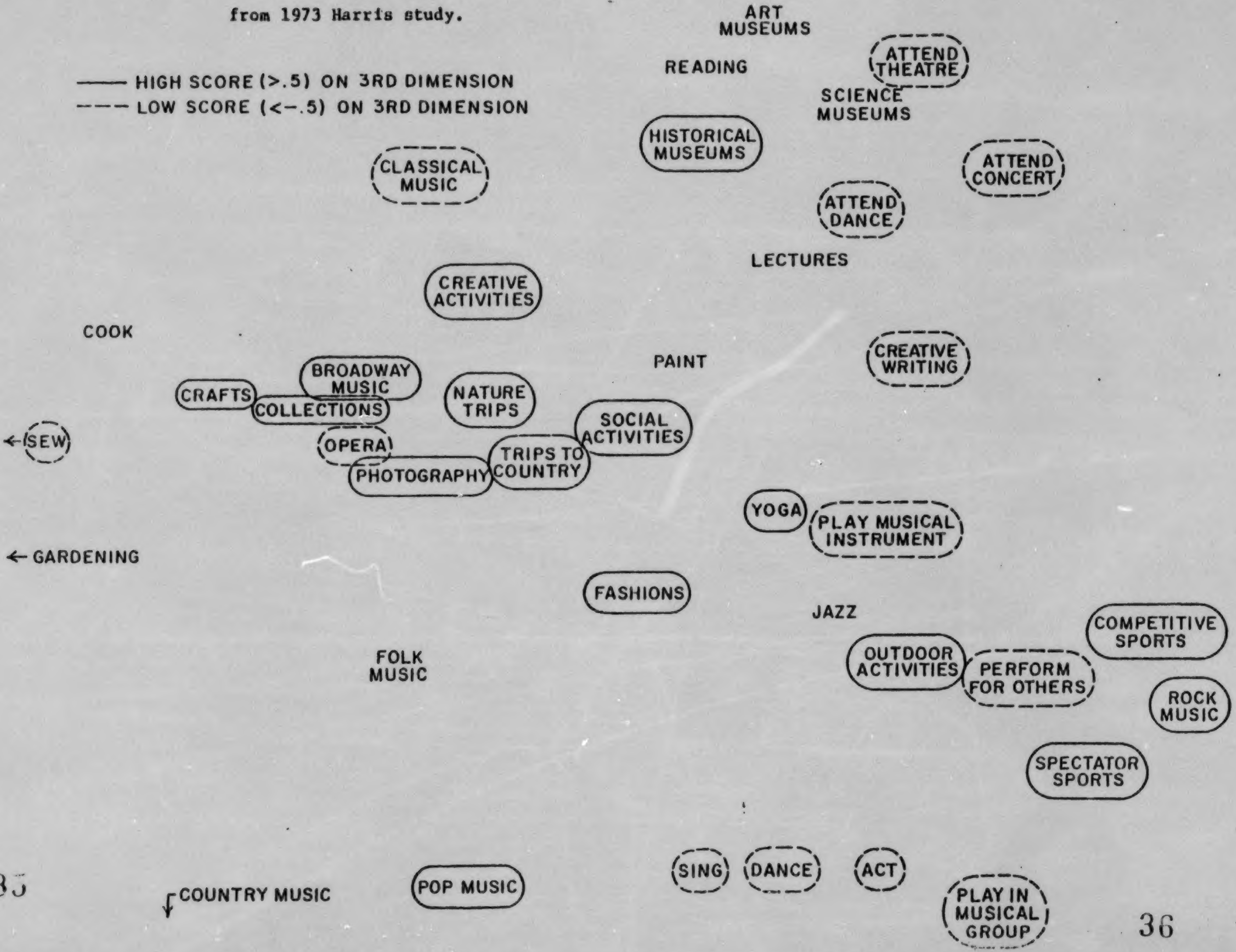
*To be precise, those with scores greater than +0.5 are in solid circles, and those with scores less than -0.5 are in broken circles.

Figure 2.1. First three dimensions of six-dimensional scaling analysis; participation items from 1973 Harris study.



Singing, dancing, acting, and playing in a musical group are in the same quadrant as the sports and outdoor activities, but these two sets of activities differ on the third dimension: they are "behind" the page, not "in front."

Listening to country music has a location all by itself (and off the page).

Recall that two activities with similar "locations" are likely to be engaged in by the same people, while those with some "distance" between them attract different audiences.

What the dimensions on which we have located these activities mean must be inferred from where different activities are and what they have in common. It appears, however, that the three classifications we used to organize these activities in Chapter One are roughly reproduced by this analysis.

Activities at the left of Figure 2.1 are, in general, those that can be done at home. Those toward the center seem to be either activities that may or may not require leaving home, or family activities away from home. At the right are found activities that individuals pursue, away from home and (sometimes) family. This is something like the rough at-home/away-from-home categorization we employed in Chapter One.

Running top to bottom, we find a dimension that approximates the distinction we drew in Chapter One between passive, "consumption" sorts of activities--watching or listening to others do something--and active participation for oneself. There are, to be sure, many exceptions, but most of the activities toward the top of the page are "passive"--going to performances or lectures, reading, listening to classical music--while most of those toward the bottom require active participation. (Listening to popular or country-and-western music is an exception.)

Finally, the third dimension is apparently equivalent to the distinction we drew between "arts" and "non-arts" activities. Most of the activities "below" the page are relatively "high-brow" sorts of things: listening to opera or classical music; going to concerts or recitals; singing, dancing or acting oneself; and so on. Those activities "in front of" the page are other sorts of hobbies, sports, family and social activities. If one looks only at the music-listening items, the nature of this dimension is clear: "behind" the page are opera and classical music; on the surface of the page are folk music, show tunes, and country-and-western; "in front of" the page are popular and rock music.

The apparent exceptions (for instance, the "arts-like" location of sewing) could--and as we shall see do--resolve themselves by differences on the other dimensions which it is impossible to picture here. But, by and large, the dimensions which emerge from the analysis make sense, and activities which seem to "belong" together are, in fact, close together--telling us, in effect, that our preconceptions are correct.

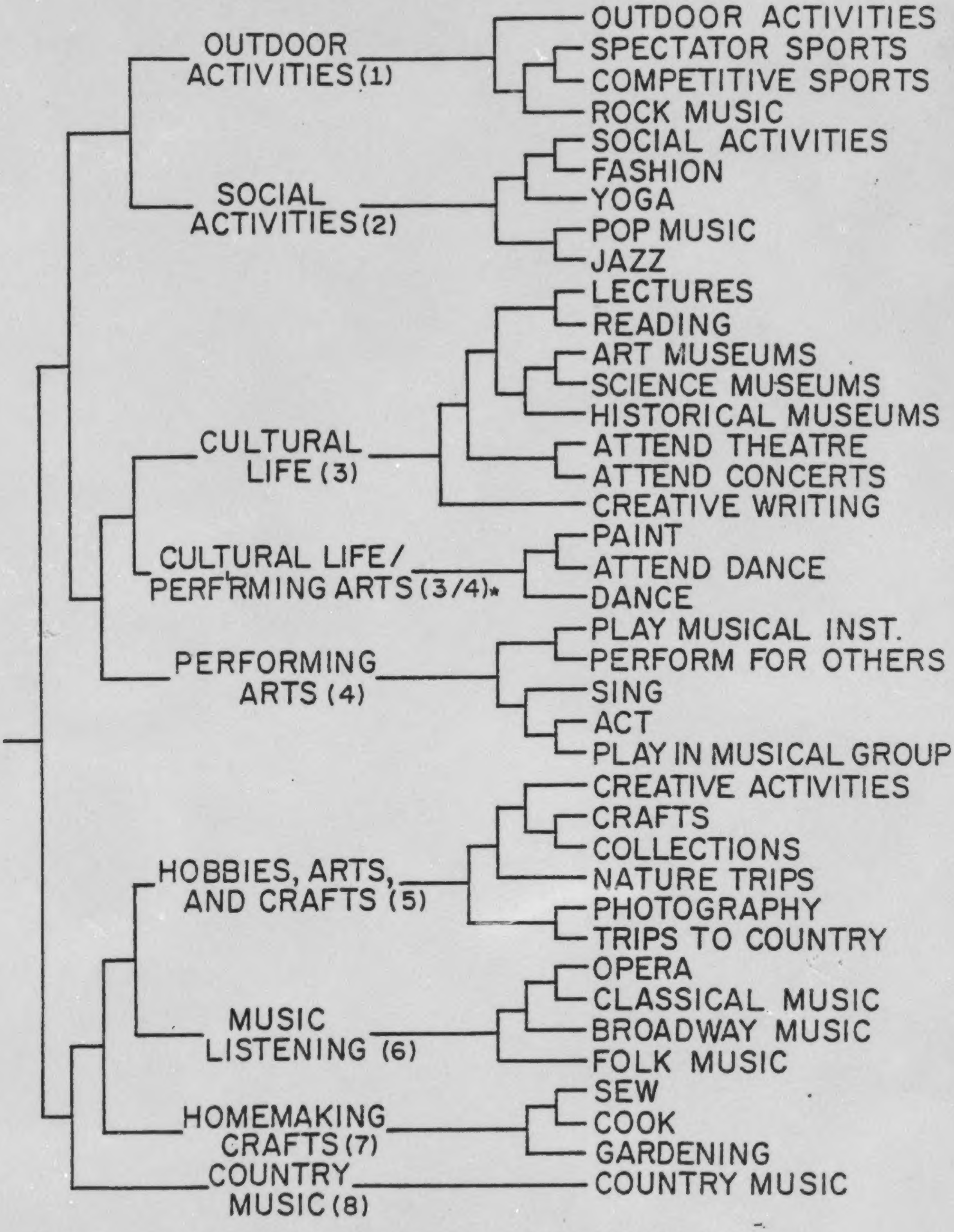
In addition, the fact that these dimensions are interpretable in terms of the activities' setting, whether they are active or passive, and whether they are arts-related or not tells us that people tend to engage or not to engage in activities which are similar in these respects. If they do one active, away-from-home, arts-related activity, they are likely to do others as well. In other words, the structure of Americans' tastes and opportunities is organized in terms of these dimensions.

We could produce figures like Figure 2-1 for every possible combination of the six dimensions in our analysis and attempt to summarize verbally the locations of different activities in the complete six-dimensional space. But the remaining dimensions do not appear to be as readily interpretable as the first three, and in any case (and fortunately) there are alternatives to this rather cumbersome procedure. The technique of "cluster analysis" is a systematic and efficient way to identify groups of items with similar "locations" in the six-dimensional map. Cluster analysis proceeds on a step by step basis. At each step, the two closest items are combined into a cluster--or the two closest clusters are combined into a larger cluster. Thus, we begin with (in this case) 39 one-item "clusters" and end with one 39-item cluster. The optimal stopping-point for this process (i.e., the best number of clusters) is determined by comparing the average distance between items within clusters to the average distance between items in different clusters. It is to some extent a matter of the investigator's judgment as to exactly what point the clusters are sufficiently general to constitute a helpful data reduction, yet still homogeneous in that they combine activities bearing some similarity to one another (see Johnson for additional details on cluster analysis).

The "dendogram" in Figure 2-2 shows how the 39 activities were combined by the procedure described into nine clusters (as well as the ways the nine clusters would have been further combined if the process had been allowed to continue). For the most part, the clusters are sensible groupings of similar activities. However, we decided on substantive grounds that the activities in the cluster numbered "3/4" resembled the "attendance" variables in Cluster 3, on the one hand, or the "performance" variables in Cluster 4, on the other, more than they resembled each other, so for our later analysis we have parcelled those activities out between the two adjoining clusters (with which Cluster 3/4 would shortly have been combined by the analysis procedure, in any case).

So we are left with eight clusters of activities, grouped together because they tend to appeal to the same people. Figure 2-3 shows how the clusters appear in the same three-dimensional presentation we used in Figure 2-1. Notice that

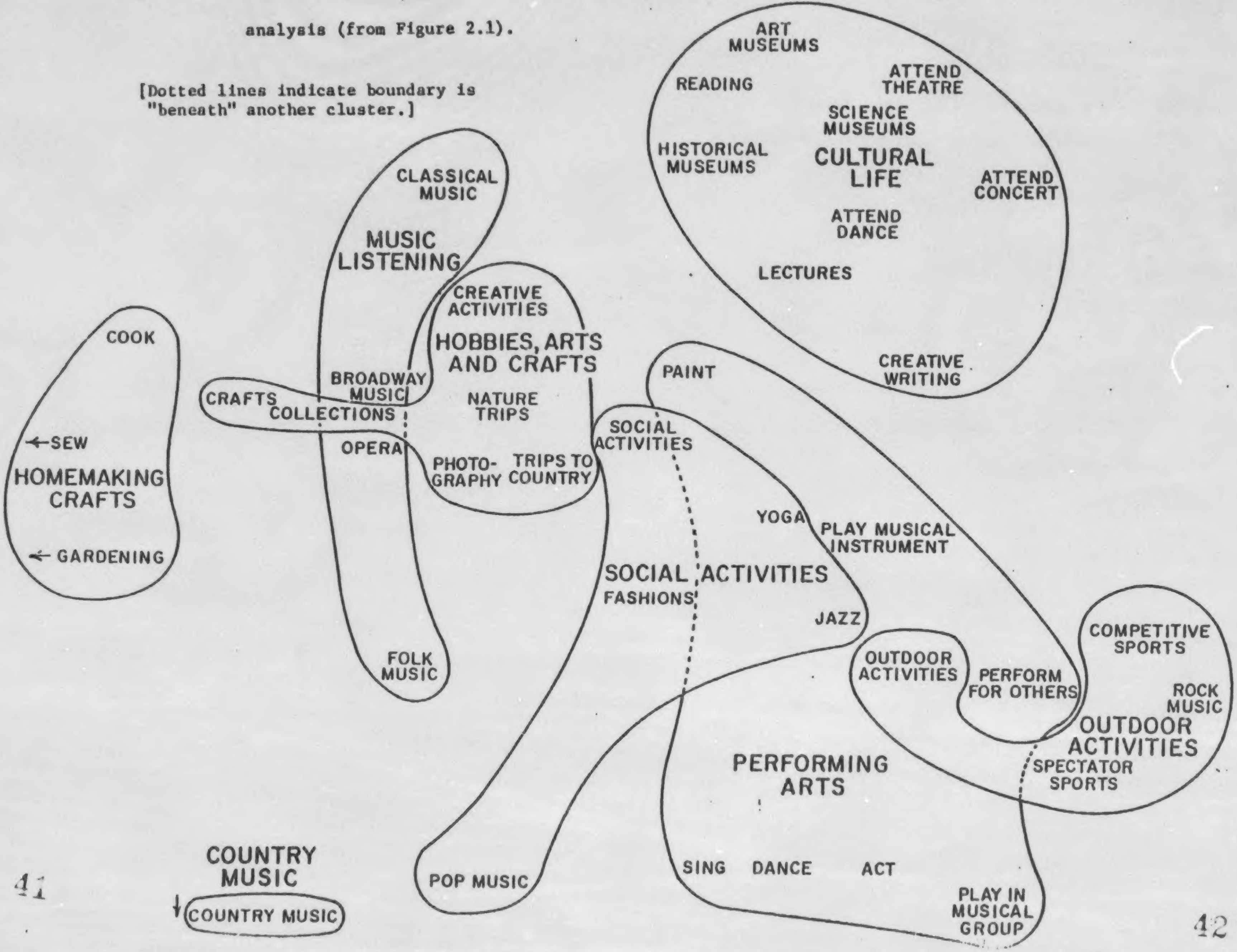
Figure 2.2. Results of cluster analysis, based on six-dimensional scaling analysis of participation items from 1973 Harris study.


OUTDOOR ACTIVITIES (1)
SOCIAL ACTIVITIES (2)
CULTURAL LIFE (3)
CULTURAL LIFE/ PERFORMING ARTS (3/4)*
PERFORMING ARTS (4)
HOBBIES, ARTS, AND CRAFTS (5)
MUSIC LISTENING (6)
HOMEMAKING CRAFTS (7)
COUNTRY MUSIC (8)
OUTDOOR ACTIVITIES
SPECTATOR SPORTS
COMPETITIVE SPORTS
ROCK MUSIC
SOCIAL ACTIVITIES
FASHION
YOGA
POP MUSIC
JAZZ
LECTURES
READING
ART MUSEUMS
SCIENCE MUSEUMS
HISTORICAL MUSEUMS
ATTEND THEATRE
ATTEND CONCERTS
CREATIVE WRITING
PAINT
ATTEND DANCE
DANCE
PLAY MUSICAL INST.
PERFORM FOR OTHERS
SING
ACT
PLAY IN MUSICAL GROUP
CREATIVE ACTIVITIES
CRAFTS
COLLECTIONS
NATURE TRIPS
PHOTOGRAPHY
TRIPS TO COUNTRY
OPERA
CLASSICAL MUSIC
BROADWAY MUSIC
FOLK MUSIC
SEW
COOK
GARDENING
COUNTRY MUSIC

*Items in this cluster were distributed into Clusters 3 and 4 for later analysis (see text).

Figure 2.3. Clusters (from Figure 2.2) displayed in first three dimensions of six-dimensional scaling analysis (from Figure 2.1).

[Dotted lines indicate boundary is "beneath" another cluster.]


ART MUSEUMS
READING
ATTEND THEATRE
SCIENCE MUSEUMS
HISTORICAL MUSEUMS
CULTURAL LIFE
ATTEND CONCERT
ATTEND DANCE
LECTURES
CREATIVE WRITING
CLASSICAL MUSIC
MUSIC LISTENING
CREATIVE ACTIVITIES
HOBBIES, ARTS AND CRAFTS
COOK
BROADWAY MUSIC
CRAFTS
COLLECTIONS
NATURE TRIPS
PAINT
SEW
OPERA
SOCIAL ACTIVITIES
PHOTO-GRAPHY
TRIPS TO COUNTRY
HOMEMAKING CRAFTS
YOGA
PLAY MUSICAL INSTRUMENT
GARDENING
SOCIAL ACTIVITIES
FASHIONS
JAZZ
COMPETITIVE SPORTS
OUTDOOR ACTIVITIES
PERFORM FOR OTHERS
FOLK MUSIC
ROCK MUSIC
OUTDOOR ACTIVITIES
SPECTATOR SPORTS
PERFORMING ARTS
COUNTRY MUSIC
SING
DANCE
ACT
POP MUSIC
PLAY IN MUSICAL GROUP
COUNTRY MUSIC

all three dimensions are sometimes necessary to illustrate how the clusters are distinct: the "outdoor activities" cluster, for instance, differs from the "performing arts" cluster primarily by being "in front" of it, and the "music listening" cluster is "behind" that for "hobbies, arts, and crafts." In the three-dimensional presentation, at least, our reassignment of the items "paint," "attend dance," and "dance" seems to make rather more sense than putting them into a cluster of their own.

For reference, the eight clusters of items (with the summary label we have given each cluster) are:

Cluster 1. Outdoor activities. Outdoor activities; spectator sports; competitive sports; listening to rock music.

Cluster 2. Social activities. Social activities; keeping up with fashions; yoga or other exercise; listening to popular music; listening to jazz.

Cluster 3. Cultural life. Going to lectures; reading; going to art museums; going to science museums; going to historical museums; attending theater; attending concerts; creative writing; attending dance performances*.

Cluster 4. Performing arts. Playing a musical instrument; performing for others; choral singing; acting; playing in a musical group; dancing*; painting*.

Cluster 5. Hobbies, arts, and crafts. Crafts; collections; creative activities; nature trips; photography; trips to the country.

Cluster 6. Music listening. Listening to opera; listening to classical music; listening to Broadway music; listening to folk music.

Cluster 7. Homemaking crafts. Sewing; cooking; gardening.

Cluster 8. Country music. Listening to country music. (Note: This "cluster" contains only one item.)

*Redistributed from Cluster 3/4.

What these clusters mean is simply what items' being close together means: the same people are likely to engage in the activities within a cluster, and relatively unlikely to engage in two activities from different clusters. If the items in a cluster seem to resemble one another--if singing and acting seem to "belong" together, for instance--it is because people who engage in some activity are apparently likely to engage in "similar" activities as well.

Any given cluster will be closer to some clusters than to others, as well, reflecting the relative overlap in participation between that cluster and the others. The correlations between additive scales measuring an individual's participation levels in the different clusters are a good rough measure of their average "nearness" to one another. Table 2-1 displays those correlations.

As one might suppose from its isolated location in Figure 2-1, listening to country-and-western music shows either negative or very low correlations with all of the other clusters. "Home-making crafts" is also a relatively isolated cluster, closest (by this measure) to the "hobbies, arts, and crafts" cluster. "Music-listening" shows a low correlation with "outdoor activities," reflecting their positions at opposite sides of the page, and also a difference on the third (forward and backward) dimension. Three of the six correlations over .40 involve the "social life" cluster, reflecting its position near the center of the map.

Note that almost all of the correlations among the first six scales are positive. This is indicative of an underlying dimension of activity level: some persons simply do more things in their leisure time than others. One example of this is shown in the previous chapter: with few exceptions, non-southerners are more likely to do almost all activities than southerners. Table 2-1 does not suggest the presence of substitutable patterns of participation, in which participation in some types of activities prevents persons from participating in other types. The exceptions to this general activity pattern are, as indicated, those of country-and-western music listening and homemaking crafts.

Table 2-1. Intercorrelations of Scales

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
(1) outdoor activities	--							
(2) social activities	.48	--						
(3) cultural life	.42	.44	--					
(4) performing arts	.29	.31	.36	--				
(5) hobbies, arts, crafts	.39	.47	.54	.30	--			
(6) music listening	.11	.36	.41	.23	.35	--		
(7) homemaking crafts	-.07	.27	.18	.11	.32	.24	--	
(8) country music	-.04	-.03	-.20	-.08	-.00	.04	.01	--

The Question of "Preconditions"

We can look at one additional aspect of the structuring of these activities: namely, whether any of the activities are "necessary conditions" for others--whether, for instance, only those who go to the theater take up acting themselves, or whether all opera enthusiasts also listen to symphonic music. The implications of positive findings of this sort are seldom perfectly clear. If we find that all dancers also say they attend dance performances, for instance, we cannot say that watching dance "leads to" or is a "precondition for" dancing oneself. In the first place, we will not be able, with these data, to say which activity came first in time. And even if we knew that attending dance performances came first, we would only be able to say that it "leads to" dancing in the same limited sense that we can say smoking marijuana "leads to" using heroin when we discover that all heroin addicts have a history of marijuana smoking.

Nevertheless, we can ask readily enough whether any two activities are related in such a way that all those who engage in the less common one also engage in the more common, and clearly two items related in this way "go together" in a more rigorous sense than is indicated by the correlation coefficients used in the previous section, which indicate merely whether people who do one activity tend to do another, and vice versa. If there are activities that are "preconditions" for others, they must be related to the others in this more demanding way--although, as we shall see, there are other ways that two items can come to stand in this relationship to one another.

We have approached this question in two ways. First, we asked whether the items in any of our clusters constitute what is called a "Guttman scale"--that is, whether they can be ordered so that each item is a necessary condition for the next. This would be the case, for instance, if only people who listen to folk music also listen to show tunes; all listeners to symphonic music are drawn from those who listen to show tunes; and opera listeners are a subset of those who listen to symphonic music. If this were the case, it would be reasonable to suppose that music listeners begin with the "easiest" sort and some move on, sequentially, to more "difficult" kinds of music. Each type of music-listening then, would be a precondition for the next.

The Guttman scaling procedure simply ranks the items from the most common to the least, and provides a measure of the extent to which the items satisfy the criterion. Table 2-2 displays the results for each of the clusters we have identified. Not to put too fine a point on it, none of them is organized in this way. The "coefficient of scalability" has a maximum value of 1.0 when the criterion is fully met. Only the "outdoor activities" cluster and the "home-making crafts" cluster have coefficients exceeding 0.6, the bare minimum for a useful scale, according to one rule of thumb, and their "coefficients of reproducibility" (another measure of scale quality) fall below the 0.9 standard usually required for that statistic.*

In other words, with the items we have, there is no indication that novices began with the most common activity in any cluster and move on to the more unusual ones. Rather, people appear to pick and choose from among the activities in each cluster in idiosyncratic ways, although doing any one implies that they will be more likely to do others in the cluster.** Some activities are, of course, done more frequently than others in each cluster. Appendix II-B lists the activities in each cluster in decreasing order, as far as participation levels are concerned.

---

*Obviously, the one-item "country music" cluster cannot yield a scale. In addition to their unsatisfactory coefficients, the other clusters all show significant deviations from the scale model, using a test devised by Proctor.

**Even here, we cannot say that doing one causes them to do others. The correlations between items are quite likely to be due to people's tastes and opportunities leading them to do items that are "similar" to one another.

Table 2-2

Results—Examination of Cumulativeness of Scales

Summary Statistics From Guttman Scaling

Scale #	Name (# activities)	Coefficient of Scalability	Coefficient of Reproducibility	X^2	DF
1	Outdoor Activities (4)	.63	.87	191.5	10
2	Social Activities (5)	.42	.83	513.6	25
3	Cultural Life (9)	.45	.81	3230.2	501
4	Performing Arts (7)	.27	.92	1563.6	119
5	Hobbies, Arts, Crafts (6)	.47	.79	745.4	56
6	Music Listening (4)	.54	.83	312.9	10
7	Homemaking Crafts (3)	.61	.83	221.0	3
8	Country Music (1)	---	---	---	---

Although none of the clusters exhibits this structure, this does not mean that particular pairs of items do not, and our second approach to the question was to look for such pairs. Table 2-3 displays the 15 pairs of activities that were linked (or almost linked) in this fashion.* The most strongly linked are at the top: 97% of those who attend dance performances also say they engage in (unspecified) "social activities," for instance. Toward the bottom of the table, the linkage is weaker: only 81% of those who attend dance performances also say they attend live theater. If going to the theater were truly a precondition for going to dance performances, the figure would be 100%.

The most striking thing about this exercise is how few of the items are structured in this way. If a pair of items is not in the table, the items are not linked in this way. (Thus, for example, it is not true that nearly all dancers attend dance performances.) These 15 are the best of the 780 pairs we can construct from the 40 activities on which we have information, and many of them are simply cases where one activity logically implies another: it is hardly surprising that those who paint or do crafts are likely to say they also do "creative activities," or that those who play in an orchestra or dance also say they "perform for friends." We would not want to say that performing for friends was a "precondition." Similarly, while it is true that playing a musical instrument is a precondition for playing in an orchestra, it is not a terribly interesting one.

There is very little indication from these data that some activities "lead to" others in any way that would have implications for policy about what activities should be encouraged as a way of stimulating others.

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*The pairs included in Table 2-3 are those which met two conditions: (1) over 80% of those who did the less common activity also did the more common one; and (2) among those who did one of the activities but not the other, at least four times as many did the "predicted" combination--i.e., the more common but not the less common. "b/c" in Table 2-3 is the ratio of those who did the "off-scale" combination to those who did the predicted one. If everyone who did the "harder" activity also did the "easier" one, b/c would be zero. If many people who did the "harder" activity failed to do the "easier" one, then b/c would approach one.

Table 2-3: Activities which appear to be necessary conditions for others.

More common	Less common	percent of those doing second who also do first	b/c (see text)
social activities	attend dance	97	--
social activities	attend theater	97	.02
social activities	attend lectures	97	.05
play musical instrument	play in orchestra	91	.02
creative activities	paint, draw, etc.	90	.03
outdoor activities	competitive sports	90	.16
spectator sports	competitive sports	90	.17
creative activities	crafts	89	.17
perform for friends	play in orchestra	88	.01
attend lectures	creative writing	87	.03
attend lectures	attend dance	86	.03
perform for friends	dance	84	.03
attend lectures	attend concerts	82	.15
attend theater	attend dance	81	.07
listen to classical music	listen to opera	81	.15

A few of the connections among these activities are, however, less than obvious. Attending dance performances, the theater, or lectures and adult education courses are not clearly "social activities," yet engaging in social activities appears to be a virtually universal accompaniment to these sorts of participation. It may be that the "social activities" item is measuring simply the ability and the will to go out, which certainly is a precondition for these away-from-home cultural activities.

In a few cases, what we are seeing is that the "market" for some activity is a specialized segment of that for some other activity. Thus, for example, it is the case that few opera-listeners do not also listen to (unspecified) "classical music," but not all classical music listeners also listen to opera. The audience for dance appears to be a subset of the audience for live theater. Similarly, those who engage in competitive sports are a subset of those who watch sports, and also of those who engage in "outdoor activity" (which is why the "outdoor activities" cluster was almost a satisfactory Guttman scale).

One interesting and possibly significant aspect of the table is the frequency with which attending lectures and adult education classes appears as a necessary condition for activities of other sorts--concert-going, going to dance performances, "creative writing." It would be a mistake to conclude from these data that evening classes and the like "lead to" these other activities for a fraction of those who take such classes. It is possible, however, that a common and "easy" activity like adult education introduces people to social circles where others are engaged in the more "difficult" activities, and thereby induces some to try these other activities. Certainly the analogy to the relation between marijuana smoking and heroin addiction would suggest that conclusion. Unfortunately, our data do not allow us to examine the implicit hypothesis of "contagion" within social circles.

Summary

In this chapter, we have done three things:

(1) Using the technique of multidimensional scaling, we have examined the structure of leisure-time activities. It appears that Americans tend to engage (or not to engage) in activities that are similar to one another--"similar" in terms of the setting in which they take place (at home or away, with or without family), whether they involve active participation or passive "consumption," and whether they are "arts-related" or not. Another way to look at it is that there appears to be a generalized audience for "the arts," subdivided into groups of participants and "consumers," and further subdivided on the basis of the setting in which the activity takes place.

(2) We have, in addition, used the procedure of "cluster analysis" to identify eight groups of activities which are likely to occur, or not occur, together--or, to put it another way, eight groups of activities that appeal to different "markets." The items within each cluster are, not surprisingly, similar in terms of the dimensions mentioned above.

(3) Finally, we applied Guttman scaling techniques and a detailed, pair-by-pair item analysis to investigate whether any of these items are related to one another in ways that might suggest that one is a "precondition" for others. The results of the analysis indicate that this sort of structuring of activities is not common, although we speculated that relatively common and undemanding activities (such as evening classes) that lead people to interact with others who are engaged in arts-related activities may play a role in stimulating participation.

Having identified these eight activities-clusters, we shall turn in the next chapter to examine the characteristics which dispose people to participate in or to avoid activities of different sorts. In particular, we shall look at whether Southerners are more or less likely to engage in each sort of activity, and at whether regional differences in participation can be explained by regional differences of other sorts--income, education, access to cultural facilities, and so forth.

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Appendix II-A

TABLE A-1: Zero Order Correlation Matrix Among Participation Variables, for Multidimensional Scaling Analysis

	Outdoor Activities	Spectator Sports	Competitive Sports	Social Activities	Lectures	Creative Activities	Play Musical Instrument	Paint	Dance	Sing	Act	Play in a Musical Group	Creative Writing
Outdoor Activities	-												
Spectator Sports	.341	-											
Competitive Sports	.381	.481	-										
Social Activities	.203	.251	.226	-									
Lectures	.207	.218	.259	.322	-								
Creative Activities	.246	.103	.185	.262	.348	-							
Play Musical Instrument	.104	.048	.122	.108	.198	.149	-						
Paint	.103	.048	.110	.100	.203	.340	.117	-					
Dance	.059	.069	.139	.094	.112	.072	.076	.141	-				
Sing	.025	.083	.058	.114	.082	.046	.196	.085	.107	-			
Act	.040	.038	.067	.076	.103	.052	.143	.089	.110	.185	-		
Play in a Musical Group	.059	.057	.079	.053	.057	.044	.309	.078	.085	.222	.201	-	
Creative Writing	.091	.056	.144	.102	.270	.197	.157	.201	.098	.106	.084	.104	-
Crafts	.183	.024	.070	.173	.195	.558	.111	.246	.067	.042	.026	.020	.088
Perform for Others	.147	.181	.214	.203	.197	.138	.268	.142	.178	.334	.166	.258	.204
Sew	-.115	-.110	-.145	.110	.074	.215	.038	.101	.071	.071	-.045	-.052	.002
Cook	.010	-.043	-.042	.213	.173	.214	.078	.123	.072	.079	.011	-.026	.067
Gardening	.031	-.061	-.115	.132	.070	.215	.024	.068	.021	.044	-.003	-.040	.022
Collecting	.160	.080	.060	.159	.204	.257	.059	.148	.037	.029	.035	.016	.076
Photography	.242	.201	.232	.272	.276	.356	.127	.162	.072	.038	.031	-.011	.119
Nature Studies	.305	.097	.125	.136	.292	.274	.118	.141	.065	.048	.025	.027	.152
Yoga	.200	.204	.294	.191	.305	.224	.174	.161	.143	.100	.091	.075	.189
Fashions	.110	.239	.230	.320	.209	.159	.084	.130	.123	.111	.050	.047	.057
Trips to Country	.333	.202	.165	.335	.298	.255	.098	.127	.041	.036	.050	.024	.104
Reading	.156	.089	.135	.158	.346	.172	.141	.128	.062	.044	.054	.033	.216
Country & Western	.057	-.035	-.067	-.063	-.135	-.039	-.048	-.058	.005	-.021	-.030	-.018	-.041
Opera	-.009	-.040	-.020	.111	.185	.124	.118	.088	.049	.109	.092	.055	.120
Rock Music	.234	.224	.326	.092	.197	.106	.120	.127	.107	.033	.060	.088	.167
Pop Music	.045	.157	.145	.182	.102	.095	.009	.047	.055	-.004	.009	-.017	.029
Classical Music	.059	-.005	.027	.136	.301	.209	.174	.123	.026	.082	.066	.065	.179
Jazz Music	.120	.144	.177	.125	.169	.105	.110	.089	.088	.024	.037	.064	.102
Folk Music	.096	.025	.062	.095	.192	.166	.121	.090	.041	.008	.012	.021	.137
Broadway Music	.005	.057	.035	.208	.221	.186	.105	.089	.048	.046	.048	-.002	.092
Attend Theater	.058	.133	.153	.204	.273	.181	.145	.129	.061	.058	.118	.036	.175
Attend Dance	.052	.069	.070	.098	.166	.082	.075	.105	.148	.031	.074	.014	.118
Attend Concerts	.146	.134	.181	.145	.287	.167	.194	.111	.078	.072	.073	.146	.214
Attend Art Museums	.117	.083	.139	.180	.354	.255	.163	.267	.041	.030	.069	.051	.217
Attend Science Museums	.143	.167	.174	.141	.102	.218	.147	.164	.056	.073	.066	.057	.181
Attend History Museums	.169	.115	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	.125	[illegible]	.011	.015	.052	.015	.197

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rafts	Perform for Others	Sew	Cook	Gardening	Collecting	Photography	Nature Studies	Yoga	Fashions	Trips to Country	Reading	Country & Western	Opera	Rock Music	Pop Music	Classical Music	Jazz
-																	
.077	-																
.253	-.005	-															
.207	.128	.304	-														
.253	-.014	.325	.330	-													
.240	.081	.120	.181	.215	-												
.240	.134	.120	.199	.141	.283	-											
.228	.143	.045	.180	.216	.264	.277	-										
.176	.239	.121	.209	.093	.169	.248	.261	-									
.111	.213	.219	.263	.103	.131	.235	.084	.281	-								
.223	.167	.039	.201	.178	.264	.314	.361	.205	.277	-							
.134	.126	.093	.174	.042	.143	.167	.204	.219	.135	.199	-						
.313	-.054	-.011	.001	.097	.032	.012	.037	.037	-.061	.063	-.083	-					
.086	.107	.079	.154	.124	.128	.102	.151	.087	.053	.130	.168	.023	-				
.027	.196	-.055	.022	-.130	.023	.113	.087	.243	.225	.075	.115	-.052	.034	-			
.073	.082	.084	.120	.064	.100	.197	.054	.116	.208	.130	.058	.068	.101	.140	-		
.166	.106	.122	.181	.154	.166	.160	.231	.124	.080	.168	.245	-.103	.419	.043	.086	-	
.055	.176	-.038	.084	-.018	.084	.128	.114	.194	.177	.151	.127	-.013	.181	.347	.191	.203	-
[illegible]	.052	.061	.099	.132	.144	.127	.210	.129	.045	.187	.130	.223	.199	.130	.183	.211	.203
.136	.117	.169	.164	.135	.138	.200	.152	.116	.141	.168	.179	-.038	.331	.024	.294	.366	.217
.081	.181	.031	.122	-.011	.106	.151	.093	.192	.148	.144	.235	-.177	.123	.110	.053	.179	.134
.066	.106	.011	.054	.016	.070	.091	.028	.140	.107	.082	.114	-.094	.072	.030	.003	.092	.079
.119	.218	.012	.097	-.00005	.113	.133	.178	.188	.141	.183	.211	-.144	.140	.188	-.027	.225	.179
[illegible]	.138	.067	.164	.060	.184	.180	.201	.230	.138	.217	.294	-.156	.153	.135	.0004	.242	.176
[illegible]	.155	.011	.142	.026	.177	.188	.211	.165	.108	.217	.261	-.099	.104	.163	.036	.187	.156
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	.206	[illegible]	.176	[illegible]	.291	-.043	.167	.181	.056	.214	[illegible]

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Folk Music	Broadway Music	Attend Theater	Attend Dance	Attend Concert	Attend Art Museum	Attend Science Museum	Attend History Museum
-							
.208	-						
.038	.201	-					
.026	.096	.397	-				
.110	.105	.395	.351	-			
.111	.162	.401	.309	.389	-		
.119	.120	.301	.247	.300	.561	-	
.161	.181	.296	.222	.345	.550	.602	-

Activities within Clusters, Ordered by Percentage of Participation

Appendix II-B. Optimal Orderings and % Participants of Activities in Clusters

Outdoor Activities (Scale 1)

Activity	% Participation
Outdoor activities	71%
Competitive sports	69
Spectator sports	46
Rock music	36

Social Activities (Scale 2)

Activity	% Participation
Social activities	87%
Fashion	70
Pop music	64
Yoga, body exercises	35
jazz	33

Cultural Life (Scale 3)

Activity	% Participation
Historical museums	59%
Reading	59
Lectures, adult education	55
Science museums	52
Art museums	52
Attend theatre	34
Attend concerts	28
Attend dance	10

Performing Arts (Scale 4)

Activity	% Participation
Perform for others	31%
Play musical instrument	18
Paint	15
Sing	9
Dance	3
Play in musical group	3
Act	2

Table 1.4 Regional Differences in Passive at-Home Arts Activities

Activity	Percentage South	Participating non-South	Percentage Difference (South-non-South)
1973			
Listen to opera	14	21	-6
classical music	29	43	-14
jazz	27	35	-8
folk music	41	52	-11
broadway musicals	27	45	-18
popular music	54	68	-14
rock music	31	38	-8
country and western music	62	51	+11
religious music	63	41	+22
1975			
Listen to classical music (non-live)	49	58	-9
Buy recorded classical music	36	36	0
1978			
Listen to music at home	89	93	-5
			Ratio $\frac{\text{non-South}}{\text{South}}$
Average number of positive responses to 12 items:	5.22	5.81	1.11
Average number of positive responses to 10 items (country music and religious music omitted):	3.97	4.89	1.23

(cont.)

Hobbies, Arts & Crafts (Scale 5)

Activity	% Participation
Trips to country	80%
Photography	59
Creative activities	58
Nature trips	51
Collections	47
Crafts	38

Music Listening (Scale 6)

Activity	% Participation
Folk music	49%
Broadway music	40
Classical music	39
Opera	19

Homemaking Crafts (Scale 7)

Activity	% Participation
Cooking	63%
Gardening	56
Sewing	47

("Scale" 8 is omitted from this panel because it includes only 1 item.)

CHAPTER 3

Explaining Regional Differences in Participation

Using the 1973 Harris data, we have identified eight clusters of activities that compete for the leisure time of Americans. We do not claim that these activities exhaust the catalogue of ways that Americans spend their time off the job, but they probably do include most activities which are or might be of interest to the Endowment, as well as a sampling of the major competitive activities.

In this chapter, we shall construct indices to measure involvement in each of the eight clusters, and address the question of who does what, paying particular attention to two related questions: (1) are there regional differences in leisure-time activity which persist when other factors are accounted for, and (2) what are the effects of education--especially arts-appreciation education--on involvement in arts-related activities in later life?

The Indices of Activity

To construct our dependent variables, one for each cluster of activities, we have simply retained the zero-or-one, participate or do not, codes for each of the activity questions, and added up individuals' scores within each cluster. This gives us an index score for each cluster, the number of activities within that cluster each respondent engages in. The eight indices and the variables that make them up are as follows:

Outdoor activities. Competing in or watching sports, engaging in other outdoor activities, listening to rock music. (See the previous chapter for the rationale for grouping these activities.) Scored zero to four.

Social activities. Such things as going to parties or dining out, keeping up with fashions, listening to jazz or popular music, doing exercise or yoga. Scored zero to five.

Cultural life. These activities are mostly social in their nature, involve leaving the home and attending some cultural event as a spectator. The activities that make up the index include going to lectures or adult education; going to art, science, or historical museums; attending the theater, concerts, or dance performances; reading and doing creative writing. Scored zero to nine.

Performing arts. Activities that engage the individual as a performer. Playing a musical instrument; performing for friends or family; singing in a choral group; working with a theater group; playing with an orchestra, band, or chamber group; dancing; painting. Scored zero to seven.

Hobbies, arts, and crafts. Woodworking, pottery, etc.; collecting stamps, coins, or the like; doing photography; nature study and weekend trips for the scenery; engaging in (unspecified) "creative activities." Scored zero to six.

Music listening. Listening to relatively "high brow" music, probably at home: opera, classical music, folk music, Broadway show tunes. Scored zero to four.

Homemaking crafts. Sewing and needlework, cooking special dishes, gardening or flower-arranging. Scored zero to three.

Country music. A "cluster" of one item--listening to country-and-western music. Scored zero or one.

Regional Differences

Since, as we saw in Chapter One, Southerners are less likely than non-Southerners to participate in nearly all of the activities that go to make up these indices, it should come as no surprise that they score lower on all of the indices, save the last (Table 3.1). If we compute an average score for

Table 3.1

Regional Differences in Leisure Participation Indices

Activity Cluster	Maximum Score	Average Participation South	Average Participation Non-south	Ratio (Non-south/South)
Outdoor Activities	4	1.99	2.32	1.17
Social Activities	5	2.58	3.01	1.17
Cultural Life	9	2.52	3.77	1.50
Performing Arts	7	.70	.85	1.21
Hobbies, Arts & Crafts	6	2.78	3.55	1.28
Music Listening	4	1.22	1.61	1.32
Homemaking Crafts	3	1.58	1.70	1.08
Country Music	1	.62	.51	.82

Southerners and for non-Southerners and take the ratio, we can see that the largest discrepancies are, in fact, for the clusters labelled "cultural life" and "music listening" (purged now of rock music and jazz, popular and county-and-western music)--in other words, in two of the clusters of greatest interest to the Endowment. There is, of course, the reversal for country music. Other than that, the remaining factors show approximately the same ratio: an excess of activity for non-Southerners of ten to thirty percent.

Explaining the Differences

We have implied, throughout this discussion, that some of the differences in activity between Southerners and non-Southerners may be accounted for by differences in their resources and situations. On the average, residents of the South are poorer, less well-educated, more likely to live in small towns or the countryside, and so forth. In addition, they are probably less likely to have easy access to concerts, the theater, and the various facilities necessary for one to score high on the "cultural life" cluster. Finally, it may be that they are less likely to have been exposed to the arts at an early age, in art or music courses at school, for instance.

If these are the factors that account for differences in participation, then reducing those differences does not require any particular attention to regional factors. Arts policy for the South becomes merely a special case of involving the poor, or the rural, or the poorly educated; or of providing access (through touring companies, perhaps) for those who lack it; or of encouraging arts education programs in school systems where they do not exist.

On the other hand, other research has demonstrated that there are some respects--violence is one, and religion another--in which Southerners must be viewed as sharing a quasi-ethnic regional culture, not explainable simply in terms of their demographic characteristics and life situations. (For a summary of this literature, see Reed c.) In families, churches, peer groups, and other primary group situations, black and white Southerners learn some attitudes that are variants on "mainstream" American values. Might it not be the case that some of these attitudes have to do with the appropriate use of leisure time? If that is the case (or rather to the extent that is the case), even if Southerners become as well-off, well-educated, and urban as other Americans, even if they have the same access to cultural facilities, perhaps even if they receive the same sorts of formal, in-school training in the arts and arts appreciation--even if all of these factors are equalized, Southerners may simply choose to spend their leisure time differently from other Americans.

In this section, we shall use the technique of multiple regression to control for the variety of differences between Southerners and other Americans that might account for their different patterns of leisure-time activity. Simply put, what the technique does is to remove the variation in leisure-time activity that is due to factors other than region of residence, and allow us to compare hypothetical groups of Southerners and non-Southerners who are identical on these "other factors." If a difference remains, it must be due to something else, and we will feel more confident in talking about differences in regional culture than before.

The variables for which we shall control are those standard background variables included in most public opinion polls, plus some measures of access to cultural activities and of early exposure to the arts. The background variables are defined as follows:

Region. Coded South or non-South, as in Chapter One. It is regrettable that neither Harris nor HumRRO included measures of residential history, so we cannot distinguish between native Southerners and migrants. All residents of the thirteen Southern states are regarded, indiscriminately, as "Southerners." In future research, we hope this important distinction will be made.

Size of place. We have distinguished, as does Harris, among four categories: those who live in cities (over 50,000 population), those who live in the suburbs of such cities, those who live in smaller towns, and rural people. (For purposes of the regression analysis, we have entered "dummy variables" (see Miller and Erickson) for the first three categories, in order to examine how each is different from the last--and, by implication, from each other.)

Marital status. We have distinguished only between respondents who are presently married and those who are not. Although there may well be important differences among widowed, divorced, and never-married people, there are too few of each in the sample to make the distinction worthwhile. To the extent that those differences reflect the presence of children in the household, they will be picked up by the next variable, in any case.

Number of dependent children. We have included simply the number of children under eighteen living at home, ranging from zero to seven, with seven indicating "seven or more." Respondents for whom the datum was missing were assumed to have no children.

Years of school. The Harris data allow only approximations to this, as follows: eighth grade or less was scored as 8; some high school as 10; high school graduate as 12; some college as 13; two-year college graduate as 14; college graduate as 16; and post-graduate as 18. Respondents for whom no data were available were excluded from the analysis.

College education. In addition to the "years of school" variable, we have included a dichotomous variable indicating simply whether each respondent has or has not attended college (13-18, above). This reflects the established generalization that most sorts of knowledge and interest are not a simple linear function of years of education (see Hyman et al.) and that familiarity with "high culture," in particular, is still one of the stigmata of a college education.

Religion. We have distinguished, as does Harris, among Protestants, Roman Catholics, and "others." While recognizing that the "others" may be of critical importance in the cultural life of a community, there are simply too few--particularly in the South--to make finer distinctions. (Here we have included dummy variables for Protestant and for Catholic, to compare each to the "other" category.) In future research on the South, we should note, it would be of great interest and perhaps of importance to distinguish among the major Protestant denominations.

Religiosity. This variable was coded to approximate the number of times a year that a respondent attends church: "regularly" was coded 50; "sometimes" 20; "not sure" 3; and "hardly at all" or no response, 1.

Age. An approximation of years of age at last birthday, constructed by coding the Harris categories to their mid-points: "16-17" to 16.5; "18-20" to 19; "21-24" to 22.5; "25-29" to 27; "30-34" to 32; "35-39" to 37; "40-49" to 44.5; "50-64" to 57; and "65 and over" to 70. Respondents for whom this datum was not available were excluded from the analysis.

Age-squared. This variable, in combination with that above, reflects the generalization that activity of all sorts--presumably including these--is often a curvilinear function of age, usually increasing to some point, and then decreasing. These two variables together will allow us to describe the relationship more accurately than either one alone. Note that it is necessary to interpret the coefficients for age and age-squared jointly, not separately (Stolzenberg). The individual coefficients can be misleading.

Income. An estimate of total household income for 1972, before taxes. The values assigned were the midpoints of the Harris categories: "under $3000" was coded as $1500; $3000 to $4999 as $3999.50; $5000 to $6999 as $5999.50; $7000 to $9999 as $8499.50; $10,000 to $11,999 as $10,999.50; $12,000 to $14,999 as $13,499.50; $15,000 to $19,999 as $17,499.50; $20,000 to $24,999 as $22,499.50; and "$25,000 and over" as $30,000. Many respondents did not reply to this question. Rather than exclude them, we assigned non-respondents the mean income, $10,759.75. This procedure will reduce the apparent effect of income on other variables, but will not otherwise distort our findings. To the extent that income is associated with other variables, such as education, its effects will be taken account of by them, in any case.

Race. As with religion and marital status, it was necessary to deal with a heterogenous residual category of "other" in the case of race. We defined dummy variables for blacks and for whites, which compare each to the "other" category comprising Orientals, Hispanics, American Indians, and other, smaller groups. There were not enough of any of these "other" groups in the sample to allow for separate treatment. Future research on cultural activity in the South should probably ensure greater representation of some of these populations, by oversampling, if necessary.

Sex. A dichotomous variable: 1 for males, 0 for females. A "positive" relation between this variable and others, then, means males are more likely than females to display the characteristic or engage in the behavior in question.

In addition to these "face sheet" characteristics, the Harris data allowed us to examine two other sorts of information about respondents which might possibly account for regional differences in arts-related activities: (1) exposure to the arts, either active or passive, in early life, and (2) the present accessibility of cultural events and facilities. We measured the first with five separate indices, the latter with one index.

The Harris Poll asked respondents whether they had engaged in each of eight activities in grade school, in junior high or high school, in college, or through private lessons, instruction, or tutoring. (The last may be particularly important, as indicating parental attitudes and support—key variables, no doubt, but ones for which we have no other measures.) The eight activities were (1) playing a musical instrument, (2) painting, drawing or sculpting, (3) performing ballet or modern dance, (4) singing in a choir or other group, (5) working with a theatrical group, (6) playing in an orchestra, band, or other instrumental group, (7) writing poetry or other imaginative writing, and (8) engaging in woodworking, weaving, pottery, ceramics or other crafts. Most of these activities in later life implicate the "performing arts" cluster, with one each falling in the "cultural life" and "hobbies, arts, and crafts" clusters.

We defined four indices, as follows:

Grade school exposure. Simply the number of activities (out of the eight) which individuals indicated they participated in when in grade school.

High school exposure. An index defined similarly, for when respondents were in high school. Again, the range is from zero to eight.

College exposure. The same index, for when respondents were in college. (Obviously, those who did not go to college score zero on this index.)

Private lessons. The number of activities out of the eight in which respondents received private instruction.

In addition to these indices of early active involvement in the arts, we constructed an index of more passive sorts of exposure, from four items which asked about (1) taking courses in music appreciation; (2) taking courses in art appreciation; (3) visiting museums, planetariums, concerts, or plays on school field trips; and (4) having outside musical or theater groups come to respondents' schools. These forms of exposure for the most part refer to activities in the "cultural life" cluster. The index is defined as follows:

Appreciation. Simply the number of these four questions to which respondents gave a positive response--i.e., indicated that they had been exposed in that fashion. Scores range from zero to four. Respondents who were not sure or did not answer about some activity were considered not to have done it.

Finally, we constructed an index from self-reports of the accessibility of various cultural events and facilities. (Obviously, it would have been better to obtain direct measures as well, to see how well perceptions correspond to reality, but it could be argued that lack of information about a facility is as effective a barrier to its use as the actual lack of a facility. In any case, we are unable to determine precisely which communities Harris respondents come from, so we must rely on their reports of what facilities exist.) The index is:

Access. Harris asked respondents about the availability of (1) a theater for live performances, (2) a concert hall, (3) art, science, or historical museums, (4) "facilities for creative activities," (5) places for cultural events, and (6) cultural activities in the business district. These items were each scored 1, if the facility was available, 0 if it was not, and 1/2 if a respondent did not answer or was not sure. Harris also asked about the frequency of live theater performances, dance performances, opera, and symphony concerts. Each of these four items was scored 1 if the response was "almost all the time," 3/4 if "only on weekends," 1/2 if "only at certain times of the year" or if the respondent did not answer or did not know, 1/4 if "only occasionally," and 0 if "almost never." The index score was simply the sum of the score for all ten items, ranging from 0 to 10.

If these variables are to explain the regional differences in participation, they must be related both to region and to participation. (For instance, if Southerners are poorer than other Americans, on the average, and poorer people participate less, then income will "explain" at least part of the regional difference.) As Table 3.2 reveals, nearly all of the variables are significantly related to region: Southerners are (as we know) less urban, less well-educated, more often Protestant, and so forth, on the average. The differences in sexual composition and in marital status between Harris's samples of Southerners and non-Southerners are not significant (that is, they could easily have come about by chance in the sample, and not reflect genuine differences between the Southern and non-Southern populations); otherwise, though, Southerners differ from non-Southerners in not surprising ways. Whether these variables are related to participation or not will emerge from our analysis.

Tables 3.3 and 3.4 summarize the results of the regression analysis. Both tables show the "effects" of each of the variables at the side on each of the eight types of participation, with all other variables in the analysis controlled. Table 3.3 gives "standardized" coefficients, while Table 3.4 gives "unstandardized" coefficients (on the distinction, see Kim and Mueller). In Table 3.4, for instance, the number -.146 to the right of "Region (South)" in the column for "Outdoor activities" means that being from the South reduces one's score on the

Table 3-2

Association of Regional Dichotomy
and other Predictors

Variable	Nonsouthern Mean	Southern Mean	R^2	r
Residence in central cities	.331	.286	.0193	-.139
Residence in suburbs	.294	.140	.0254	-.159
Residence in towns	.143	.220	.0089	.094
Marital status - married	.682	.701*	.0004	.02
# children under 18 at home	1.087	.896	.0035	-.059
Years of school	12.238	11.395	.0200	-.141
College attendance (dummy)	.376	.288	.0068	-.082
Protestantism	.501	.811	.0754	.275
Catholicism	.346	.118	.0514	-.226
Church attendance (times/year)	26.338	29.474	.0046	.068
Age	41.145	43.754	.0044	.066
Income	11514.05	8800.60	.0323	-.180
Race (white)	.885	.826	.0062	-.079
Race (black)	.077	.147	.0114	.108
Sex	.487	.498*	.0001	.010
Exposure - grade school	1.110	.801	.0108	-.104
Exposure - jr. high/high	1.352	1.010	.0102	-.101
Exposure - college	0.430	.280	.0045	-.067
Exposure - lessons	0.773	.608	.0047	-.069
Arts appreciation	1.897	1.488	.0184	-.136
Access to arts	4.391	3.500	.0263	-.162

*Not significantly different from non-Southern mean.
(All others significant.)

"Outdoor activities" scale (which ranges from zero to four) by about one-seventh of a point (i.e., by "one-seventh of an activity"), after all other factors have been allowed for. Similarly, living in a central city reduces one's score on the outdoor activities scale by .153, compared to living in a rural area, while those in suburbs and towns are not significantly different from rural folk in this respect--that is, their "effects" of -.013 and .018, respectively, could easily reflect sampling error rather than real differences from zero in the population. (In both tables, only the underlined effects are significantly different from zero.) Being Protestant or Catholic (rather than "other") increases participation in outdoor activities, other things equal, as does being black, or male. Each thousand dollars of income increases outdoor participation by .015 points, on the average--again, other things equal.

Table 3.3 summarizes the rather unwieldy Table 3.4, by combining several of the groups of variables into "sheaf" variables (Heise), which combine the effects of their constituents, and by presenting "standardized" coefficients which facilitate comparisons across rows and down columns. Without going into detail, the standardized coefficients allow one to say, for instance, that education (as it is measured, and given the existing distribution in the population) has a greater effect than income on most sorts of participation (especially the arts-related ones), or that the greatest effect of sex is on the cluster of activities we have labelled "homemaking crafts."

Both tables will repay examination. In large measure they replicate the analysis in "Americans and the Arts," although with more thorough controls for other possible explanations. For present purposes, however, several features of the tables are of particular importance.

Outdoor activities. A modest regional effect remains, when other factors are controlled for, but the largest single effect is that of age. It is negative, not surprisingly, given the competitive sports/rock music component of this

Table 3.3

Standardized Partial Effects of Variables (All Others Controlled) on Participation

	Activity Cluster							
	Outdoor Activities	Social Activities	Cultural Life	Performing Arts	Hobbies, Arts and Crafts	Music Listening	Homemaking Crafts	Country Music
Region (South)	-.049	-.057	-.093	-.031	-.114	-.068	-.029	.039
Marital status (married)	-.015	.021	-.045	-.057	.090	-.008	.063	.077
Size of place*	-.054	.063	.033	.036	-.072	.041	-.037	-.123
No. children	-.020	-.017	-.037	-.021	-.006	.001	-.005	.062
Education*	.040	.115	.244**	.126	.106	.171**	.013	-.136
Religion*	.050[†]	-.044	.056[†]	.065	.023	-.087	.045	.081
Religiosity	.002	.030	.074	.161	.057	.043	.062	-.044
Age*	-.540	.267	.137	-.206	.157	.202	.066	.033
Income	.079	.077	.097	.050	.016	.036	-.010	-.063
Race*	-.043	-.069	-.018	.056	.121	.096	.037	.200
Sex	.230	-.081	.005	.050	.006	-.066	-.634	.069
Exposure*	.102	.176	.212	.367	.261	.275	.122	.042
Appreciation	.096	.118	.200	.087	.144	.116	.098	-.051
Access	.019	-.023	.110	-.005	.028	.017	-.001	-.025
R^2	.488	.298	.480	.254	.311	.269	.482	.144

*"Sheaf" variables, which combine the effects of several other variables. Conventionally, these always have positive signs, but we have allowed a positive value here to mean that urban people, the well-educated, Protestants, older people, whites, and those who were exposed to the arts in school participate more than others, using negative values when the opposite is the case.

**In these cases, the effects of education are curvilinear. See Table 3.4 for details.

[†] In these cases, both Catholics and Protestants differ markedly from "others". See Table 3.4.

Table 3.4

Unstandardized Partial Effects of Variables (All Others Controlled) on Participation

	Activity Cluster							
	Outdoor Activities	Social Activities	Cultural Life	Performing Arts	Hobbies, Arts and Crafts	Music Listening	Homemaking Crafts	Country Music
Region (South)	-.146	-.168	-.517	-.074	-.461	-.195	-.0737	.0431
Residence[a]:								
Central City	-.153	.194	.197	.081	-.200	.00598	-.0781	-.124
Suburbs	-.0129	.193	.157	-.002	-.0692	.127	-.0181	-.153
Town	.0182	.162	.187	-.005	.187	.0165	.0379	-.0496
Marital Status:								
Married	-.0428	.0585	-.244	-.134	.353	-.0213	.154	.0829
# Children Less than 18	-.0185	-.0157	-.0642	-.016	-.00745	.00105	-.00396	.0216
Years of School[b]	.00104	.0549	.153	-.063	.0832	.0473	.00816	-.0133
College Attendance[b]	-.105	.0149	.491	.094	-.0834	.220	-.0470	-.0769
Religion:								
Protestantism	.222	.036	-.437	-.117	-.00201	-.233	-.0587	.0912
Catholicism	.249	.156	-.350	-.230	-.0934	-.00811	-.154	.0141
Church Attendance	.000108	.00192	.00889	.008	.00498	.00266	.00337	-.00105
Age[c]	-.0203	-.0529	-.0704	-.021	.0290	-.0444	-.0182	-.00266
Age^2[c]	-.0132	.0216	.0337	.00009	.00843	.0379	.0143	.00230
Income	.0000154	.0000151	.0000358	.000008	.00000430	.00000685	-.00000167	-.00000463
Race:								
White[d]	.180	.0166	-.0447	-.201	.158	.126	-.0206	.0460
Black[d]	.332	.325	.105	-.030	-.586	-.287	-.161	-.293
Sex (male)	.611	-.215	.0263	.110	.0206	-.169	-1.437	.0686

(cont.)

Table 3.4 (cont.)

	Outdoor Activities	Social Activities	Cultural Life	Performing Arts	Hobbies, Arts and Crafts	Music Listening	Homemaking Crafts	Country Music
Exposure:								
Grade School	.0458	.0876	.118	.028	.136	.0380	.0329	.00314
High School	.0576	.0827	.160	.097	.138	.104	.0273	-.0942
College	-.0245	-.0229	.115	.154	.0648	.0891	.0293	-.0105
Lessons	.0128	.0324	.138	.157	.121	.135	.0569	.0211
Arts Appreciation	.0948	.116	.370	.070	.194	.109	.0822	-.0189
Access to Arts	.0101	-.0123	.111	-.002	.0204	.00887	-.000478	-.00501
Intercept	2.512	2.865	1.396	1.824	2.0833	.648	2.188	.764
Maximum	4	5	9	7	6	4	3	1
R^2	.4881	.2984	.4803	.2544	.3112	.2689	.4825	.1444

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a: Reference category for these effects is "rural residence"; all residence effects give difference in activity level between indicated residence and rural areas.

b: Effects of these variables should be interpreted jointly.

c: Effects of these variables should be interpreted jointly; interpretation of separate portions can be misleading (see Stolzenberg).

d: Reference category for these effects is "other"; all race effects give differences in activity level between indicated group and persons of "other" race.

cluster. There is also a substantial effect of sex: men more likely than women to participate. Religion (not being "other"), and income (having more of it) significantly increase the likelihood of participation, other things equal: their effects are roughly the same magnitude as those of region.

Access to cultural facilities has no significant effect, but the variables measuring early exposure to the arts do increase participation in this respect, as in nearly all others. It may be that the association with exposure is spurious, in that we are measuring general activity level early and late: in any case, compared to their "effects" on other sorts of participation, these variables have relatively little to do with outdoor activities.

Social activities. Here again, a significant regional effect remains, about the same magnitude as the effects of income (being better off), race (being black), and sex (being female)--all of which serve to increase participation in this respect. The characteristic with the largest effect, once again, is age. Partying, keeping up with fashions, and listening to jazz or popular music increase with age. The other background factor with a substantial effect is education, which also appears to increase participation in these activities.

Cultural life. Here we find one of the two largest remaining regional effects: Southerners are less likely to attend arts performances of various kinds, even with all of the other factors controlled. Other large effects come from education (the largest--college education seems particularly important in this connection), from age (which increases participation), from income (the largest effect income has on any sort of participation, suggesting the class-linked image of these activities, perhaps, or maybe just the deterrent effect of high ticket prices). Reassuringly, this is the only sort of participation affected by the index of access to cultural facilities, but it is substantially affected. Passive exposure to the arts, through appreciation courses and the like, has its greatest effect on this sort of passive participation, while active participation during early life also has a substantial effect. Interestingly, once access to cultural facilities is taken into account, size of place per se has only minor effects on participation (not significant, taken as a whole)--although rural people appear somewhat less likely than others to engage in these activities. Being married and having children both operate to reduce participation, but not significantly. Professing "other" religions than Catholic or Protestant increases participation, as does churchgoing (itself a measure of out-of-the-home activity) when other factors are controlled.

Performing arts. Here the regional difference was relatively small to begin with, largely because of Southerners' participation in choral singing, and the result of controls for other factors is to render the regional difference insignificant. There are large effects of age (in this case, decreasing participation) and of churchgoing (the latter presumably on church musicians, for the most part), while the effects of education are curvilinear--the least- and the most-educated being most likely to engage in these activities. Males and single persons are more likely than others to participate, other things equal; Catholics are less likely. There is, as might be expected, a very large effect of early involvement in the arts on later involvement, but there is only a modest effect of the "appreciation" variable.

Hobbies, arts, and crafts. For this cluster, the controls reduce the regional effect relatively little, and a substantial difference remains. Here, there are relatively large effects of early exposure, both active and passive. The background variable with the largest effect is age, which increases participation. Race (being white) also has a large effect, as does education--although the latter is curvilinear, with those in the middle of the education distribution being most likely to participate. This sort of activity is more characteristic of married people than of single; and more of those in towns than of suburban, rural, or especially city people.

Music listening. Listening to classical music, opera, show tunes, and folk music is not strongly related to size of place, as might have been supposed, although it is more characteristic of suburban people than of others, with other things controlled. There is a regional effect somewhat larger than that of size of place, but the background variables with the largest effects are age and education, both of which increase music listening. Whites listen more than others; men and Protestants listen less. Early participation in the arts has a substantial effect, but appreciation courses and the like make relatively little difference.

Homemaking crafts. Needlework, gourmet cooking, and gardening seem somewhat less frequent among Southerners, but the effect of region is small compared to its effect on most other types of participation, and it is no longer significant when controls are introduced. The largest single effect--and it is very large--is that of sex. In comparison, the effects of other variables, though significant, are inconsequential. Single people are less likely to participate; older people and churchgoers are more likely.

Country music. This single-item "cluster" was unusual in that it was the only one for which Southerners were more likely to score high. But controls reduce the regional effect to statistical insignificance: it is smaller than the effects of nearly every other variable. Country music listeners are more likely, other things equal, to be married, parents, Protestant and male. Small-town and especially rural people are more likely to be listeners--the size of place effect is as large as the substantial education effect. The largest effect in the table, however, is that of race: clearly, country music attracts mostly white audiences. This is the only participation measure for which early participation in the arts has no significant effect. The effect of arts appreciation courses and so forth is insignificant (but it is negative!). This is also the only participation measure where the effects of income and of education are negative.

Remaining Regional Differences

As the top lines of both Tables 3.3 and 3.4 indicate, statistically significant regional differences in participation remain for five of the eight clusters, after controls for all of the other variables are applied. In other words, in these respects, there appears to be a regional effect per se, which does not simply reflect economic and demographic differences between the South and the rest of the country, nor even differences in access to cultural facilities, exposure to arts programs in the schools, or the number of children enrolled in lessons of various kinds (these last variables ones that might as easily reflect a regional cultural difference as produce an apparent one). Table 3.5 shows both the original regional effect and the effect remaining after controls for all other variables are applied. In general, the other variables reduce the regional effect substantially, but by no means eliminate it. For five of the eight activity clusters, something on the order of 40% of the regional effect remains after controls. For the other three--the performing arts; homemaking crafts; and hobbies, arts, and crafts--about 60% of the original difference remains (although the remaining differences for the first two are no longer significantly different from zero, reflecting the fact that the initial differences were relatively small).

Granted that these differences are statistically significant--i.e., probably exist--are they significant in any other sense? Are they large or small?

There is no right way to answer that question, but one approach is to compare the remaining regional differences to those produced by other variables. While region has nowhere near as much to do with these activities as age or education, its effects are about the same order of magnitude as those of race or religion--other variables that might be regarded as measuring "ethnic" influences on patterns of participation. In the cases of the clusters we have labelled "Hobbies, arts, and crafts," "Cultural life," and "Music listening," region of residence is one of the four or five background characteristics which best predicts participation, even after training, opportunity, and resources have been allowed for.

This analysis suggests that the South may well be a special case, in the American context, particularly in those respects in which the Endowment presumably has a particular interest (with the possible exception of the performing arts, although the South's relatively high level of participation here is due largely to Southerners' greater involvement in church choirs and choral groups). Even if current trends toward inter-regional equalization of incomes, education, and urbanization continue, even if cultural facilities and arts education programs are provided at the same levels in the South as elsewhere, these data suggest that Southerners' participation in the arts will still reflect uniquely regional emphases.

These results also suggest that our later analysis of the HumRRO study should be generalized to the rest of the United States only with great caution. The patterns and configurations we shall be examining in that later chapter are those to be found in a sample of Southerners, who will be reflecting the regional subculture we have been examining here.

The Effects of Education

One feature of Tables 3.3 and 3.4 is so consistent and so striking that it deserves special emphasis: the effects of education and early experience with the arts. As Table 3.3 shows, except with regard to listening to country music (where the effects of the exposure and appreciation variables are not significant and that of education is substantially negative), exposure is almost always among the one or two most important of the fourteen variables in the analysis, appreciation never drops out of the four most important, and education is also among the four most important in four cases out of seven. (And note that these are the effects of these variables with the others controlled. Their joint effects would be much greater still.) Among the background variables, only age competes with education as an all-purpose predictor of cultural activity.

By and large, the effects of these three variables make a good deal of sense. The largest effect of the appreciation variable, for example, is on the "cultural life" cluster: attending concerts and the like as a child is a good predictor of doing so as an adult. On the other hand, the appreciation variable has relatively little to do with participating as a performer oneself: here, the exposure variable (measuring active early participation) has its strongest effect. In other words, audience-building activities in the schools seems to produce adult audiences; by themselves, they do not produce performers.

Table 3.6 examines in more detail the effects of the two variables which measured education per se: years of school, and an additional variable distinguishing those with at least some college education from those with less education. Notice that the years-of-school variable has significant, positive "zero-order" effects (i.e., the association before other variables are controlled) on six of the eight clusters, and a significant negative effect on one, country music listening. After controls are introduced, four of the six positive effects remain significant and a fifth--performing arts--becomes so (note that the negative sign on the last effect must be interpreted in conjunction with the positive effect of the college dichotomy). The controlled or "partial" effect of years of school (controlled, among other things, for appreciation and exposure) is positive for social activities; cultural life; performing arts; hobbies, arts, and crafts; and music-listening--in other words, for nearly all of the activities of interest to the Endowment and several others as well.

It is notable in Table 3-6that the partial (controlled) effects of education on participation are substantially reduced from the zero-order effects. That is, controlling for the other variables in the analysis serves to "explain" a large proportion--generally exceeding two-thirds--of the overall education effect.

Table 3-5

Effects of Regional Dichotomy

Dependent Variable	Maximum Score	Zero-Order	Partial	Partial as % of Zero-Order
Outdoor Activities	4	-.338*	-.146*	43.2%
Social Activities	5	-.427*	-.167*	39.1%
Cultural Life	9	-1.249*	-.517*	41.4%
Performing Arts	7	-.147*	-.074	50.3%
Hobbies, Arts & Crafts	6	-.767*	-.461*	60.1%
Music Listening	4	-.489*	-.195*	39.9%
Homemaking Crafts	3	-.116	-.074	63.8%
Country Music	1	.109*	.043	39.4%

*|t ratio| exceeds 2.0.

Table 3-6

Effects of Education Measures on Participation[a]

	Unstandardized				Standardized			
	Years of School		College Dichotomy		Years of School		College Dichotomy	
Participation Cluster	0-order	Partial	0-order	Partial	0-order	Partial	0-order	Partial
Outdoor Activities	.105*	.001	.014	.105	.211*	.002	.043	.038
Social Activities	.151*	.055*	-.079	.015	.324*	.111*	-.028	.005
Cultural Life	.390*	.153*	.701*	.481*	.417*	.164*	.134*	.094*
Performing Arts	.016	-.063*	.290*	.094	.039	-.156*	.127*	.041
Hobbies, Arts & Crafts	.240*	.083*	-.019	-.083	.353*	.122*	-.005	-.022
Music Listening	.123*	.047*	.305*	.220*	.256*	.099*	.114*	.082*
Homemaking Crafts	.059*	.008	-.188	-.047	.140*	.019	-.079	-.020
Country Music	-.023*	-.013	-.078	-.077	-.126*	-.071	-.075	-.074

a: "0-order" effects are effects obtained in regressions of participation on years of schooling and the college dichotomy alone. "Partial" effects are those obtained after controlling the other variables.

*: |t ratio| for variable exceeds 2.0.

A particularly important source of this explanation lies in the exposure variables. As we see in Table 3.3, these are associated with all types of participation. Furthermore, the education measures are more closely associated with the exposure measures than any of the remaining independent variables examined (data not shown). Taken together, this suggests that a major aspect of the oft-noted positive effect of education on leisure participation (e.g. Wilson) is due to the fact that education is associated with early exposure to arts activities, which in turn is associated with higher participation levels. The remaining portion of the effect of education may reflect a general cosmopolitanism, the general tendency of educated people to participate more in both formal and informal spheres (Hyman et al.; Curtis and Jackson), or social expectations associated with membership in a high status group.

In addition, over and above the effects of schooling in general, going to college has significant, positive effects on the cultural life and music listening clusters. While any amount of education increases most sorts of cultural activity, that is, college education is particularly important in producing audiences for "good music," theater-goers, museum- and concert-goers, readers, and a market for adult education and lectures (see Hyman et al.). Whether one regards this as a case of the college-educated doing these things or others not doing them, it seems likely that the expansion of higher education in recent decades has had a great deal to do with creating audiences for activities of this sort. And, less happily, from the Endowment's point of view, the slowing and possible contraction of that growth will have implications for future demand.

Summary

In this chapter, we have attempted to describe the "markets" for each of the eight clusters of leisure-time activities identified in Chapter Two. Two words of warning should be given at this point. There are two unmeasured variables which can endanger conclusions based on this analysis. On the one hand, we have no measures of family influence during childhood, except as it may be reflected in our exposure and appreciation variables. The strikingly high association of these variables with nearly all of the activity measures may be due in part to the fact that parents who give their children these early experiences may influence them to later activity in other ways as well.

Similarly, we have no measure of general activity level, although the generally high correlations of churchgoing with activity of various kinds suggests that some such variable underlies and influences both. It is difficult to see, for instance, how churchgoing might cause theater-going, although both might be affected by a general willingness and ability to get up and out of the house.

With those warnings, however, we can simply list a few of the more important findings from this chapter:

(1) Even after controlling for a variety of background variables, significant regional differences remain for all of the activity-clusters except the performing arts, homemaking crafts, and country music listening. These regional differences are roughly the same order of magnitude as the effects of race or those of religion. For the clusters of greatest interest to the Endowment, region is one of the four or five best predictors of activity among the background variables available.

(2) Both education and age have large effects on activity of nearly every sort--education increases it; age decreases outdoor activities and the performing arts, increasing other types of activity. These effects are not always linear. It is especially noteworthy that college education significantly increases participation in many activities of interest to the Endowment: the clusters we have called cultural life and music listening.

(3) A number of "obvious" findings may inspire confidence that our analytic procedures are working properly. For instance, reported access to cultural facilities affects only those activities--in the "cultural life" cluster--which require such access. Similarly, early involvement in the performing arts (as measured by the "exposure" variable) is strongly related to adult involvement, and early arts-appreciation courses and the like predict adult concert-, theater-, and museum-going.

(4) Income _per_ _se_ (that is, with other factors controlled) has its strongest effect on the cluster which probably requires the greatest expenditure: i.e., the "cultural life" cluster.

CHAPTER 4

Barriers to Participation: Regional Differences

We saw in Chapter Three that regional differences in participation in arts-related activities persist, even when a variety of statistical controls are applied. In this chapter, we shall look to see whether there are particular sorts of barriers to participation that Southerners face.

Definition of "Barriers"

In this report, we take "barriers" to mean those factors which keep people who want to participate in some activity from doing so. The category includes such things as the absence of opportunity to participate (because it requires facilities that are not available, for instance, or because it is only scheduled during working hours), as well as those factors that make participation more difficult (an inconvenient or dangerous location, expensive preparation or admission, and so forth). If these factors turn out to be important, participation could be increased by making the activity more convenient, cheaper, or the like.

It is difficult to know what to do with so-called "opportunity costs." If people say they would like to participate in some activity, but do not have time, what they are saying, in effect, is that they would rather do something else. Presumably if the opportunity to do that "something else" were removed, participation would increase, but it is probably misleading to think of "insufficient time" as a "barrier" in the same sense as "insufficient money." In any case, we shall simply report what the 1973 Harris survey thought to ask--which, unfortunately, suggested "insufficient time" as a reason for not participating.

Finally, we shall not consider a distaste for some activity as a "barrier" to participating in it. To do so would be to generalize the idea beyond the point of usefulness, it seems to us. We shall examine that subject in a later chapter, when we turn to the determinants of demand for various activities.

The 1973 Harris survey on "Americans and the Arts" does provide us with some data regarding barriers to participation, and, in fact, we have already addressed the question to some extent. The simple availability of facilities for cultural events was shown to have a substantial effect on the activities in our "cultural life" cluster, indicating that the rather obvious barrier of the absence of such facilities does indeed decrease participation. Similarly, income was shown to have an effect on participation in the "cultural life" activities, indicating that the cost of attending these activities (or perhaps their social ambience) may also be a barrier. It does not seem fruitful to regard lack of education as a barrier to participation, although certainly those with little education are unlikely to participate in most of the activities we have examined. To repeat: we shall deal here with those barriers that can be thought of as intervening between people who want to engage in some activity and the activity itself, and we shall look in later chapters at the determinants of demand.

Reasons for Nonparticipation

The data from the Harris Poll do not support the conclusion that regional differences in participation are primarily due to peculiar sorts of barriers facing Southerners. Table 4-1 is an example of the sort of findings that indicate as much. For eight of the "active" participation items, those who indicated that they did not participate were asked if they would like to participate. For only one of the eight items were nonparticipating Southerners more likely than nonparticipating non-Southerners to indicate that they would like to participate, and that was the item--choral singing--where Southerners were already more likely to participate than non-Southerners. Even this difference is small and insignificant. In other words, in these respects at least, if everyone who would like to participate did so in fact, regional differences would be even larger than they are presently. Southerners would do more of what they are already doing more of; non-Southerners would do the same. It does not appear that regional differences in actual participation are based on there being more unmet demand in the South, at least for items involving active participation. Recall from Chapter One (Tables 1.1, 1.3) that regional differences in participation on these items are relatively small. Differences in demand are likewise small.

Those respondents who indicated that they did not participate in these activities, but would like to, were asked why they did not. Table 4-1 displays the reasons given. (Note that these percentages are based on very small numbers, especially the percentages for Southerners. Few of the differences are statistically significant, presumably for that reason, so we shall concentrate on the overall pattern, rather than particular figures.)

In general, "lack of time" was the most frequent reason given by both Southerners and non-Southerners, but the latter were appreciably more likely to give it. Southerners, as our earlier analysis suggested they might, are perhaps more likely than non-Southerners to blame the absence of facilities for their nonparticipation, but this is not a major factor reducing participation. Only about one person in five who would like to participate, but does not, indicates that the lack of facilities is to blame. So if facilities for crafts were universally available, for instance, 23 percent of the 18 percent of Southerners who say they would like to participate would be able to, increasing the percentage of participants from 28 percent to about 32 percent. And this is the biggest difference providing facilities would make.

Figure 4-1: Participation, desire to participate, and reasons for not participating in eight arts activities, by region.

		A. Participation and the Desire to Participate			B. Reasons for Not Participating						
		Percentages who ...			Percentages citing reasons for not participating, among those who would like to, but do not[a]						
Activity		Partici-pate	Would like to, but do not	No inter-est	No time	No facil-ities	Cost of les-sons	No talent	No train-ing	Family not inter-ested	Other
Playing musical instrument	South	13%	23%	64%	33%	13%	14%	27%	32%	5%	5%
	Nonsouth	20	24	56	38	15	13	19	26	1	7
Painting, drawing, sculpture	South	11	11	78	41	15	13	28	25	4	1
	Nonsouth	17	16	67	43	11	8	25	24	2	4
Perform dance, ballet	South	3	4	93	36	17	17	25	19	11	6
	Nonsouth	4	6	90	35	8	13	17	25	7	8
Sing in choir, group	South	13	12	75	29	5	5	27	9	4	15
	Nonsouth	7	10	83	48	11	4	22	10	4	4
Work with theater group	South	1	7	92	46	20	5	11	20	5	5
	Nonsouth	2	10	88	51	13	4	13	21	5	4
Play in orchestra, group	South	2	5	93	41	20	20	17	27	7	2
	Nonsouth	3	8	89	41	14	7	15	28	3	4
Creative writing	South	6	5	89	34	5	5	34	20	5	2
	Nonsouth	11	8	81	42	5	4	30	30	2	4
Crafts	South	28	18	54	44	23	13	8	23	3	5
	Nonsouth	41	17	42	55	19	7	8	18	3	6

[a] Percentages across rows in this table sum to more than 100% because some respondents cited more than one reason for not participating.

Southerners are also more likely than non-Southerners to mention the cost of lessons or training as an inhibiting factor, and the items in Table 4-1 are, in fact, mostly from the cluster where controlling for income and for having had lessons reduced the regional difference to statistical insignificance. However, the data in Table 4-1 remind us that the "performing arts" cluster was one where regional differences in participation were small because so few people did any of the activities, and because it included the choral singing item where Southerners showed higher levels of activity. Except for the item on playing in an orchestra or instrumental group, and possibly that for doing crafts, the regional difference in percentage indicating that the cost of training was a factor is too small to take very seriously.

One interesting regional difference we shall simply note: on seven of the eight items, Southerners are more likely than non-Southerners to attribute nonparticipation to lack of talent; non-Southerners, on the other hand, are more likely than Southerners to blame lack of training. The difference is an important one for someone who would like to do something about nonparticipation.

To repeat: it appears from these data that regional differences in these respects are not due entirely, or even largely, to Southerners' facing "barriers" that other Americans do not. It seems, rather, that they are simply less interested in these activities than other Americans. Another datum (again, suggestive rather than definitive): for seven of the eight activities, Southerners are more likely than non-Southerners to indicate that they do not participate because their "family is not interested"--further evidence, we suggest, that we are dealing with a cultural difference (in the anthropological sense of that word).

Reasons for Nonattendance

When we turn to an examination of some of the items in the "cultural life" cluster--those involving attendance at cultural events as a spectator--we find a similar pattern: although, to be sure, the opportunities for participation are fewer for Southerners and part of the regional difference is due to that, the major difference appears to be not one of barriers but regional differences of interest in participating.

Table 4-2 presents the data on three of the activities from this cluster: attending the theater, attending dance performances, and attending symphonic or chamber music concerts. In each case, those who did not attend were asked why they did not. Although Southerners were six to eight percent more likely to indicate that they did not attend because the event was not available locally, the largest differences in the table lie elsewhere.

If anything, non-Southerners were more likely than Southerners to indicate that their nonparticipation was due to such barriers as difficulty of access, the cost of tickets, inconvenient times for performances, the absence of someone to go with, or the events' location in a "bad part of town." Southerners, on the other hand, were more likely than non-Southerners to indicate simply that they do not enjoy these activities. The difference is especially large for theater and concerts; it is smaller for dance performances primarily because non-Southerners are likely also to say they do not enjoy them. There is little regional difference in complaints about the particular programs available, although this may be somewhat more common among non-Southerners.

Whether we are dealing with a genuine regional difference in taste, or whether Southerners are simply less embarrassed to say that they do not enjoy something that non-Southerners do not enjoy either, but feel they should enjoy, it is clear that we are looking here at a regional difference of some importance

Table 4-2: Percent who attend theater, dance, and concerts; and reasons given for not attending; by region.

		Percent who attend	Reasons for nonattendance: percent of nonattenders responding ... None available	Hard to get there	Inconvenient time	Cost of tickets	No one to go with	Bad part of town	Don't enjoy it	Don't like programs	Other
Theater	South	18%	24%	9%	13%	8%	5%	2%	31%	9%	13%
	Nonsouth	38%	16	13	17	12	6	4	18	13	14
Dance	South	4%	27	4	8	5	3	-	44	5	9
	Nonsouth	11%	21	7	7	6	4	2	42	6	11
Concerts	South	18%	24	4	8	7	4	1	39	5	9
	Nonsouth	30%	17	9	10	7	4	3	30	6	10

in attitudes toward the arts. It is also important to emphasize that these data do not tell us whether our respondents actually do not enjoy these things, or simply believe for some reason that they would not. We do not know the basis for their dislike, but whether it is informed or not, its effects on participation will be the same.

As a final set of data bearing on regional differences in barriers, Table 4-3 presents an odd lot of items from the survey which support the general conclusion that low levels of participation in the South are more due to patterns of attitudes and tastes than to barriers to participation. These items are drawn from several places in the 1973 Harris Poll, but they have been arranged in the table according to the size and direction of the regional difference in response. (Among other things, the table shows that Southerners, like other Americans, are unlikely to believe that training is necessary to enjoy the arts. The substantial minority who say they do not enjoy the arts probably doubt that anything can be done about their taste, even if they would like to enjoy the arts.)

In general, non-Southerners are more likely than Southerners to indicate that they face barriers which might prevent them from attending arts events, assuming they wanted to. Cost and transportation are less Southern problems than non-Southern ones. Once again, Southerners are likely to indicate that they simply do not enjoy these activities or "get much" from them. It seems that they do not object to others participating (they are no more likely than non-Southerners to believe that the arts are "effeminate," for example), they are more likely simply to feel that these activities are not for them--for "highbrows," maybe, but not for them.

It is possible that we are examining here not actual differences in taste, but differences in sophistication in dealing with interviewers: non-Southerners

Table 4-3: Miscellaneous items bearing on reasons for nonattendance at cultural events.

Item	Percent indicating problem South	Percent indicating problem Nonsouth	Difference South-(Nonsouth)
Downtown parking difficult	43	54	-11
Theater too expensive	17	27	-10
Public transportation bad downtown	45	55	- 9
Cost important factor in going downtown for arts	34	43	- 9
No convenient restaurants downtown	22	23	- 1
Training is necessary to enjoy arts	18	17	1
Hard to get tickets for downtown	48	47	1
Arts are too effeminate	20	17	3
Concert halls are uncomfortable	25	22	3
Classical music is boring	55	51	4
Downtown is too dangerous	58	53	5
Symphony is for highbrows	23	14	9
Don't get much from visiting museums	36	27	9

may be more able to recognize and respond appropriately to "know-nothing" sorts of questions, giving the "respectable" answer. But the reported differences in participation (unless they, too, are effected by this factor) suggest otherwise. Southerners, it appears, do less because they want to do less.

Summary

The data are not ideal for addressing the question, but it appears that regional differences in participation in both "performing arts" and "cultural life" activities are due to regional differences in interest and demand, not to greater "barriers" (in terms of cost, convenience, or opportunity) to Southerners' participation. It may well be that barriers other than local-availability of "cultural life" activities are greater outside the South, and that if all demand for participation were met, regional differences in arts-related activity would be even greater than they already are.

CHAPTER 5

Structure and Determinants of Participation within the South

With the previous chapters as background, we will now turn to analysis of the data from the Human Resources Research Organization (HumRRO) "Leisure Activity Survey" of Southerners' leisure-time behavior and attitudes. What we cannot do with these data, of course, is examine regional differences in these respects, since the HumRRO study included only Southern respondents. Since we already have some idea of what those differences are, however, we can now look at the structure of leisure-time activity within the South more intelligently. In particular, the HumRRO data provide us with a larger sample of Southerners and a different (and more inclusive) catalogue of possible activities. Also (and this is probably the most important contribution) the HumRRO study includes extensive information on demand for activities of various sorts, independent of actual participation. This will allow us in later chapters to examine the extent of total demand and, especially of unmet demand for various kinds of arts-related activities, and to consider the relation between past participation and present demand.

First, however, we propose essentially to repeat our analysis in Chapters Two through Four for the HumRRO sample of Southerners--to identify "clusters" of activities and to see what characteristics predict participation in the different clusters.

The "HumRRO" Study

Complete details on the Leisure Activities Survey conducted by the Human Resources Research Organization (HumRRO) for the Endowment can be found in Orend, Volume II. Rather than repeat his detailed description of survey design, sampling procedures, response rates, and the like, we shall here simply summarize some of the principal features of the study.

The survey was conducted late in 1978 by mailed questionnaire. Areas for surveying were chosen by multistage cluster probability sampling. Within areas, households and individual respondents were chosen from among telephone subscribers by a random dialing technique, resulting in a sample of 3207 respondents from thirteen Southern states (the eleven ex-Confederate states, plus Kentucky and West Virginia). These persons indicated on the telephone that they would return mailed questionnaires. After HumRRO's follow-up efforts, 1684 questionnaires--slightly over half--were actually returned.

Those who actually returned questionnaires differ from the general population in predictable ways: they have, on the average, higher incomes and more education; they are more likely to be white, female, and of middle age (rather than old or young). Orend does not compare respondents to the general population with regard to residence or occupation, but it is our impression that rural people in general, and especially farmers, are seriously under-represented.

In Orend, Volume I, the returned questionnaires were weighted so as to correct for these known departures from the characteristics of the general population. This is appropriate since Orend was concerned to indicate the proportions of the population engaging in various activities, or wishing to engage in them, and these estimates could be seriously distorted by an unrepresentative sample. In our analysis, however, we have chosen not to weight the data, since we are interested not in levels of participation or demand, but in the correlates of each, and estimates of relationships among variables are less affected by an unrepresentative sample than are estimates of the absolute levels of variables. In addition, we did not wish to inflate population groups which are, in fact, rare in the sample. There are, for instance, very few black farmers in the sample: to count each one several times (as a weighting procedure would do) might mislead us. We tend to believe that a false conclusion is worse than no conclusion at all, and our conservatism on this score led us to work with the actual responses, rather than with a "constructed" sample.

Because of the way the sample was drawn, and the low response rate, it would be hazardous to apply conventional tests of statistical significance to these data. (Such tests assume samples that meet more stringent requirements than this one can.) Consequently, we have assumed that sampling error for the HumRRO study is twice that for a simple random sample of the same size--probably a conservative assumption. In other words, our conclusions here are probably biased in the direction of concluding that one variable does not affect another, when in fact it does; rather than asserting that a relationship is present, when in fact it is not.

Measurement of Participation

The questionnaire used by respondents to the "Leisure Activities Survey" is given in Orend, Volume II, Appendix A. Among other things, it asks respondents to indicate whether they have done each of 45 different leisure activities (1) only in the last twelve months; (2) in the last twelve months, and also before; (3) sometime, but not within the last twelve months; or (4) never. Our present interest is in current participation, so we take responses (1) and (2) to be indicative of current participation, while responses (3) and (4) indicate non participation.

The 45 leisure activities, to which we shall refer frequently in this and succeeding chapters, are:

(1) reading (fiction books, periodicals, and nonfiction);
(2) creative writing--writing novels, stories, plays, or poetry, or taking classes in writing;
(3) attending classes or lectures on art history or literature, or belonging to a literature club;

(4) watching television programs other than sports or news;
(5) watching news programs on television;
(6) watching sports on television or listening on radio;
(7) visiting arts exhibits -- painting, graphic arts, photography, or sculpture;
(8) visiting craft exhibits -- e.g. pottery, weaving, macrame, jewelry, quilting;
(9) visiting history or science museums or touring buildings, gardens, or neighborhoods for design or historic value;
(10) painting, drawing, sculpturing, doing graphic art, photography, or filmmaking, as an active participant;
(11) doing crafts -- e.g., ceramics, weaving, woodworking, whittling, making quilts or afghans;
(12) taking art classes -- painting, sculpture, graphics, film, crafts;
(13) attending choral concerts, both religious and nonreligious;
(14) attending jazz concerts;
(15) attending popular concerts -- rock, rhythm and blues, country and western;
(16) attending folk or ethnic concerts;
(17) attending symphony or chamber music concerts;
(18) attending opera;
(19) attending fairs and carnivals;
(20) watching arts-related performances on television -- including classical music, opera, and dancing -- or listening to the same performances on radio;
(21) listening to popular music on radio -- e.g. rock, rhythm and blues, country and western, folk;
(22) listening to records -- of any type;
(23) watching jazz performances on television;
(24) playing a musical instrument -- in a group or otherwise -- or taking musical lessons;
(25) singing in a chorus or choir -- religious or nonreligious -- or playing music for such a group;
(26) attending theatrical performances;
(27) participating in theatrical performances -- through acting or as supporting personnel — or performing in a dance group;
(28) attending movies;
(29) watching television performances of plays or poetry - or listening to radio or recorded performances of plays or poetry;
(30) attending ballet or modern dance performances:
(31) attending folk or ethnic dance performances:
(32) attending spectator sports;
(33) participating in vigorous outdoor activities -- e.g. camping, hiking backpacking;
(34) attending church or church-related activities;
(35) participating in competitive sports;
(36) playing games with friends -- indoors, or with family;
(37) jogging, or other individual exercise activities;
(38) volunteer work -- charity, social service, or political;
(39) fraternal organization or club activities:
(40) picnicking or other nonstrenuous outdoor activities -- e.g. visits to parks or zoos, nature walks;
(41) visiting with friends or family, writing letters, telephone conversations;

(42) playing with children;
(43) do-it-yourself activities or hobbies;
(44) playing with pets; and
(45) daydreaming — sitting and thinking.

Our first task in this chapter will be to attempt to reduce this elaborate list of 45 activities to a more manageable group of "activity-clusters," using the same procedures as in Chapter Two. As before, we shall cluster together activities which attract a common "audience."

Structure of Participation

A multidimensional scaling analysis like that reported in Chapter Two once again found a six-dimensional solution to be optimal. Figure 5-1 shows the 45 activities covered by the HumRRO study, arrayed in the space defined by the first three (and most important) of the six dimensions. Once again, items are located close together in this space if they refer to pairs of activities that appeal to substantially overlapping audiences: i.e., pairs for which our measures of participation are highly correlated. (And, again, items circled by solid lines are "in front" of the page, while those circled by dotted lines are "behind" the page.) Thus, attending folk dance performances and attending the theater (two activities tending to attract overlapping audiences) appear close together, at the left of the figure. Listening to records; listening to rock, folk, popular, or country music on the radio; and day-dreaming are three highly correlated activities to be found at the right.

Activities that are far apart on the map are activities with little audience overlap; the measures of participation in these activities are therefore uncorrelated or negatively correlated. Playing with children appears at the upper-right-back extreme of the figure; attending adult education classes in literature or art history is in the lower-left-foreground. Similarly, the audience for live opera ("off the page" to the left) apparently does not contain many participants in competitive sports (in the lower right, "behind" the page).

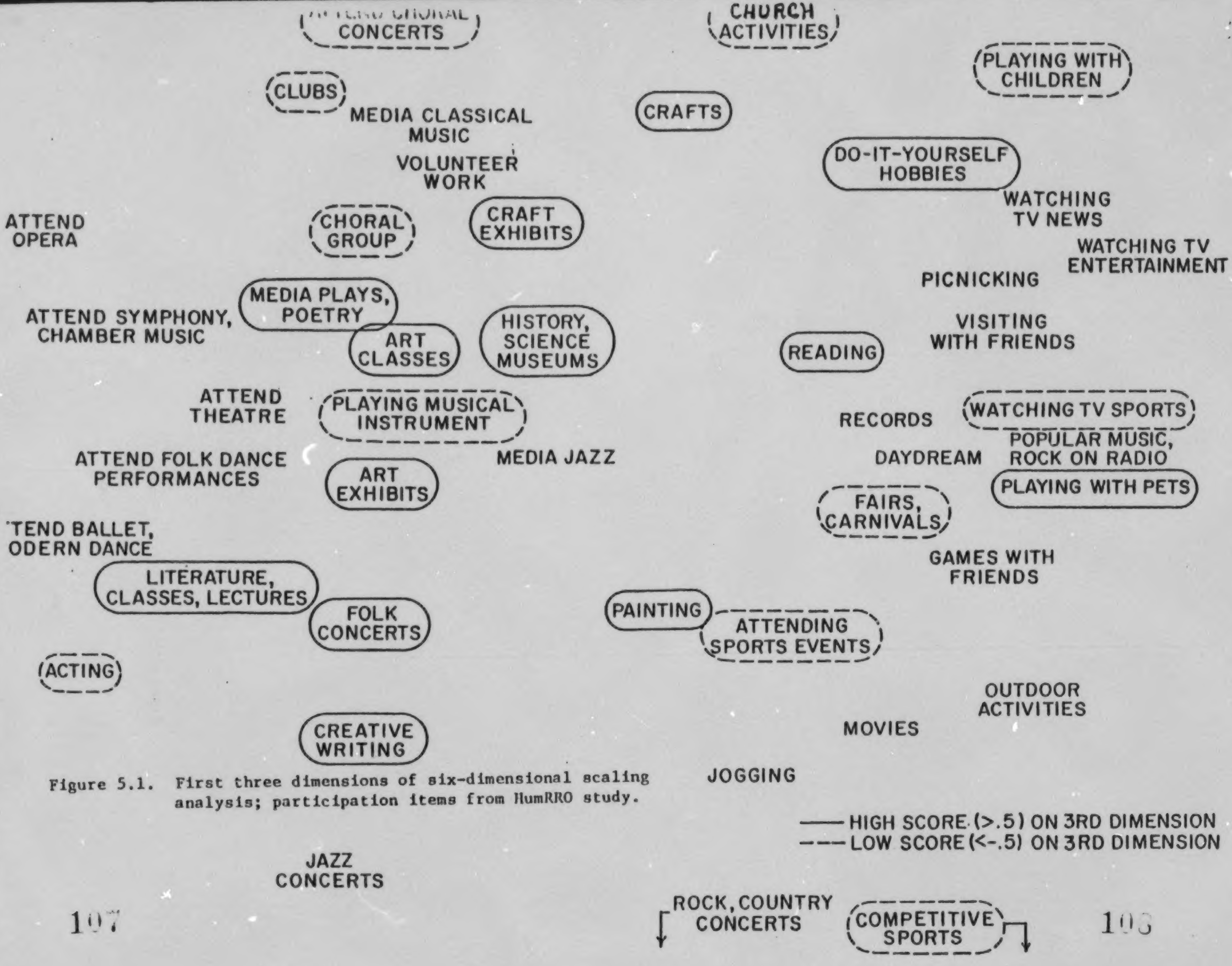


Figure 5.1. First three dimensions of six-dimensional scaling analysis; participation items from HumRRO study.

Notice that the items from the HumRRO study are often not directly comparable to the Harris Poll items analyzed in Chapter Two. There are many items from the HumRRO questionnaire that were not included at all in the 1973 Harris Poll (for instance, daydreaming, playing with pets, playing with children, and club activities). In other cases, the HumRRO study combines several activities kept separate by Harris (for instance, listening to folk, popular, jazz, or country music--which were all separate items in the Harris study), or separates items that the earlier study combined (attending craft exhibits, for instance, is kept distinct from attending art exhibits).

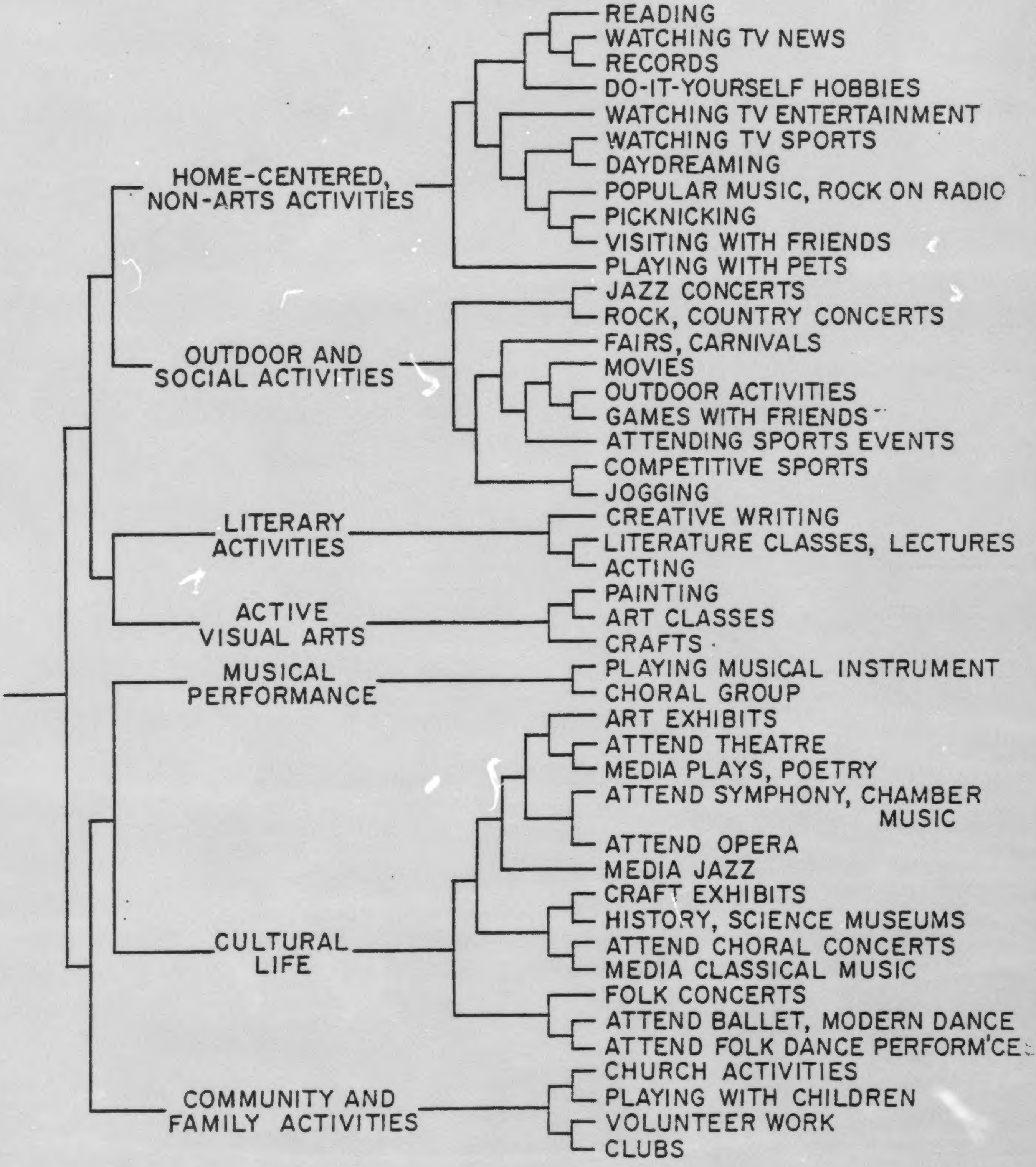
Since the dimensions yielded by the analysis are defined by the nature of the items included as well as by the actual organization of activity, it is not surprising that the three dimensions we find in Figure 5-1 are not directly comparable to the three we were able to identify in Chapter Two. (Note, though, that the interpretation of the distance between items remains the same.) The left-to-right axis in Figure 5-1 is clearly similar to the "highbrow-lowbrow" dimension we encountered before: sports, and family activities, and general television-watching at the right; concerts, lectures, drama, and dance at the left. But the other two dimensions are not so easily interpreted, and they are clearly not the active/passive and at-home/away-from-home dimensions we saw before. One of us thinks he sees an "older-younger" dimension from top to bottom and a "group-individual" dimension from back to front. But the interpretation process bears an uncomfortable resemblance to reading tea leaves, and we shall proceed to the cluster analysis before asking whether this sample of Southerners structures its leisure-time activities in a fundamentally different way from the 1973 Harris general population sample. We note, with Kruskal and Wish, that not all multidimensional scaling solutions yield interpretations for dimensions; some are more amenable to a clustering interpretation only.

Figure 5-2 shows the "dendogram" of a cluster analysis on the 45 HumRRO items. The seven-cluster solution we have chosen is quite similar to the clustering that appeared to be optimal in Chapter Two, allowing for the fact that the items are rather different. We shall here simply summarize the clusters, and indicate how they are related to those in the earlier chapter.

Home-centered activities. This cluster consists, for the most part of activities which were not included in the 1973 Harris study, so it was not, obviously, found in the earlier cluster analysis. Such things as watching television (news, sports, and non-arts entertainment programming), reading, listening to records (the sort of music was not specified), daydreaming, talking with friends, playing with pets, and so forth are included here. There were indications from the 1975 and 1978 Harris Polls, analyzed in Chapter One, that these are areas where Souterners differ relatively little from non-Southerners. The single-item "country music" cluster we found earlier could not emerge in this analysis, since listening to country music is combined with listening to several other sorts of music jazz: (which was in the "social activities" cluster, rock music (from the "outdoor" activities" cluster), folk music (from the "music listening" cluster), and rhythm-and-blues music (not included at all, but presumably with a quite different audience from country music). The composite popular music on radio item is included in this first cluster, but we caution that it refers to a grab-bag of different activities, appealing to different audiences. Several items from the earlier "hobbies, arts, and crafts" cluster appear here as well: these include hobbies and do-it-yourself activity, picnicking and trips to the country. The genuine crafts item, however, is found in the "Active Visual Arts" cluster below, grouped with painting, sculpture, and the like.

For the most part, the "home-centered, non-arts" grouping is composed of activities that were not available for analysis in Chapter Two, in combination

Figure 5.2. Results of cluster analysis, based on six-dimensional scaling analysis of participation (HumRRO data).


HOME-CENTERED, NON-ARTS ACTIVITIES
READING
WATCHING TV NEWS
RECORDS
DO-IT-YOURSELF HOBBIES
WATCHING TV ENTERTAINMENT
WATCHING TV SPORTS
DAYDREAMING
POPULAR MUSIC, ROCK ON RADIO
PICKNICKING
VISITING WITH FRIENDS
PLAYING WITH PETS
OUTDOOR AND SOCIAL ACTIVITIES
JAZZ CONCERTS
ROCK, COUNTRY CONCERTS
FAIRS, CARNIVALS
MOVIES
OUTDOOR ACTIVITIES
GAMES WITH FRIENDS
ATTENDING SPORTS EVENTS
COMPETITIVE SPORTS
JOGGING
LITERARY ACTIVITIES
CREATIVE WRITING
LITERATURE CLASSES, LECTURES
ACTING
ACTIVE VISUAL ARTS
PAINTING
ART CLASSES
CRAFTS
MUSICAL PERFORMANCE
PLAYING MUSICAL INSTRUMENT
CHORAL GROUP
CULTURAL LIFE
ART EXHIBITS
ATTEND THEATRE
MEDIA PLAYS, POETRY
ATTEND SYMPHONY, CHAMBER MUSIC
ATTEND OPERA
MEDIA JAZZ
CRAFT EXHIBITS
HISTORY, SCIENCE MUSEUMS
ATTEND CHORAL CONCERTS
MEDIA CLASSICAL MUSIC
FOLK CONCERTS
ATTEND BALLET, MODERN DANCE
ATTEND FOLK DANCE PERFORM'CES
COMMUNITY AND FAMILY ACTIVITIES
CHURCH ACTIVITIES
PLAYING WITH CHILDREN
VOLUNTEER WORK
CLUBS

with some of the activities from the clusters we examined there that are of least interest to the Endowment--other, that is, than as competition for the time and attention of audiences (and, perhaps especially, Southern audiences).

Outdoor and social activities. This cluster should be quite familiar from the earlier analysis: the combination of vigorous outdoor activities, watching and participating in sports, listening to rock music (in this case, by attending concerts, included with attending country music concerts). Also included are some activities (e.g. attendance at fairs and carnivals, movies, games indoors with friends) which would seem, on the face of it, to belong in the "social activities" cluster of Chapter Two. The HumRRO survey, however, did not include many activities of this sort, and it did not emerge as a separate cluster in this analysis.

Literary activities; Active visual arts; and Musical performance. These three clusters include activities that appeared in our previous analysis as one cluster, which we labelled the "performing arts" cluster. Creative writing; working with a theater group; and attending lectures or classes on literature, art history, and so forth form a cluster here ("Literary Activities") distinct from that comprising painting, sculpture, etc.; attending art classes; and engaging in such crafts as pottery or weaving ("Active Visual Arts"). These two clusters would have been combined at the next stage had we wished to work with six clusters instead of seven (indicating some overlap in participation), but since both are quite distinct from the third cluster ("Musical Performance") which includes playing a musical instrument and choral singing, all three clusters were kept separate in our analysis.

One should be very cautious in attempting to explain why these three clusters remain separate here but did not in the analysis of the 1973 Harris study. It may be, however, that participation in these activities is more "segmented" in the South than in the country as a whole, particularly in the case of the "musical performance" cluster. Earlier we concluded, for the U.S. as a whole, that there was considerable overlap among all of these active arts activities: that is, musicians are more likely than non-musicians also to be painters, writers, or actors, to attend lectures or classes on these subjects, and so forth. These data suggest, looking just at the South, that musicianship is no more closely related to these other forms of artistic expression than it is to the general "cultural life" cluster (see below), or for that matter to general activity in the community--including, suggestively, activity in the church. (Table 5-1 shows the correlations among our seven clusters.) An alternative explanation is methodological, however: the HumRRO study gives more attention to "arts-related" activities than the Harris poll of 1973 did, so it may not be surprising to observe finer distinctions among such activities.

Cultural life. Here is another familiar cluster. We have given this the same name as a cluster in Chapter Two. This one includes the activities which involve "attending" the arts, observing them as a spectator. It is worth noting that it also includes some activities that were not part of the Harris interview schedule which deal with watching or listening to serious arts programming on television or radio. The people who engage in activities in this cluster are the audience for the arts: people likely to watch or listen to serious programming on radio and television are, for the most part, also likely to leave home to attend performances. (This fact perhaps helps to explain why we did not obtain a clear at-home/away-from-home dimension in Figure 5-1.) Looking at Figure 5-2, we can see that the different activities are organized almost as much by subject

Table 5-1

Intercorrelations Among HumRRO Participation Scales

	Home-centered Non-arts	Outdoor and and Social Activities	Literary Activities	Active Visual Arts	Musical Performance	Cultural Life	Community and Family Activities
Home-centered Non-arts	______						
Outdoor & Social Activities	.553	______					
Literary Activities	.138	.201	______				
Active Visual Arts	.301	.236	.184	______			
Musical Performance	.095	.119	.120	.096	______		
Cultural Life	.390	.358	.328	.315	.216	______	
Community and Family Activities	.340	.265	.062	.171	.116	.326	______

matter as by setting. For instance, attending the theater overlaps with attending opera or classical music concerts.

Community and family activities. The final cluster, like the first, is made up of activities that were not part of the 1973 Harris Poll. We saw in Chapter One that engaging in activities in this final cluster is about as common in the South as elsewhere, and at least two of the four--church activities and volunteer work--are more common in the South. These items differ from those in the "Home-centered activities" cluster in that three of the four are organized, social activities, that take place outside the home. The items in the first cluster are more often individual pastimes, unorganized or spur-of-the-moment, and most can as easily be done at home as elsewhere. Here again, we are looking at activities that are of interest to the Endowment primarily in that they compete with the arts for the time and resources of potential participants: It is interesting to note, as the dendogram shows, that the organized community and family activities are more closely related to the arts than are the "home-centered activities" in our first cluster here—that is, the people active in church and clubs and volunteer work are more likely than others to be part of the audience for the arts in the South.

Preconditions

As we did for the 1973 Harris data, we examined the items in the HumRRO study to see whether any of the activities appeared to be at least possibly "preconditions" for others. Our first approach, as earlier, was to see whether any of the activity-clusters approximated a "Guttman scale" such that participating in the more common activities in the cluster was prerequisite for participating in the less common. Only the "Visual arts" cluster, as it turns out, even approaches this pattern. In general, these clusters are even farther from the "Guttman scale" pattern than those we looked at in Chapter Three.*

As in that chapter, we turned next to a pair-by-pair examination of all of the items, taken two at a time. Of the 990 pairs of activities, 312 met the two conditions we imposed: (1) at least 80% of those doing the less common activity must also do the more common, and (2) there must be at least four times as many respondents who do the more common activity but not the less common, as there are respondents who do the less common but not the more common (if one were a genuine "precondition" for the other, there would be none of this latter group).

Of these 312 pairs, most are of little interest. In 295 cases, an activity that almost everyone does appears as a "precondition" for some other activity. Thus, reading; watching television entertainment, sports, or news; listening to records or to popular music on the radio; visiting friends, picnicking, and playing indoor games with friends; going to the movies, daydreaming, and do-it-yourself activity--all common pastimes, engaged in by two-thirds or more of the sample--appear as preconditions for anywhere from eleven (for playing games with friends) to 38 (for visiting with friends) of the other 44 activities.

For the most part, however, these common activities do not appear to be "preconditions" for one another: watching television entertainment shows, for instance, is not a precondition for going to the movies. Visiting with friends is the major exception--it appears as a precondition for five of the other ten common activities, underlining perhaps the point we made in Chapter

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*The data from this analysis are of marginal interest, at best, but are presented in Appendix V-A.

Three about the importance of general activity level.

Other than that, there is little of interest in these relationships. In particular, they have almost no relevance for policy: since most people engage in them, encouraging greater participation as a means of increasing activities of other sorts would seem rather pointless. In any case, it seems unlikely that encouraging people to watch more entertainment programs on television ("The Dukes of Hazzard," for example) would have any impact on attendance at operas--although watching television entertainment does appear as a "precondition" of opera-going.

When we eliminate relationships of the sort where an extremely common activity appears to "condition" less common activities, we are left with 17 pairs which may be of somewhat greater interest, although we must repeat our warning that establishing a cause-and-effect relation is not possible with these data. Table 5-2 presents these 17 pairs of activities.

Two of the pairs in that table are reminiscent of the results of our analysis in Chapter Three. Participation in competitive sports conditions both attendance at spectator sports and vigorous outdoor activity. Other pairs involving non-arts activities result from the fact that church-related activity appears to be a precondition for both volunteer work and activity in fraternities and clubs.

The importance of involvement in organized religious life is apparent also when we turn to the arts-related activities in the table. It appears as a prerequisite for opera-going, going to symphony or choral concerts, participation in choral groups (perhaps for obvious reasons), as well as for attending folk dance performances and participating in art classes. We again suggest that the centrality of religion and of religious institutions in Southern culture and communities has a bearing on the artistic life of the region that needs more intensive examination than we can give it here.

Table 5-2

Results of search for preconditions, HumRRO participation items

More common activity	Less common activity	% doing less common who also do more common	b/c[a]
Church	Going to Opera	81%	.017
Church	Singing in Choir	92%	.018
TV Classical Music	Acting, etc.	81%	.020
TV Classical Music	Going to Opera	85%	.020
Visiting Craft Exhibits	Acting, etc.	80%	.020
History, Science Museums	Going to Opera	83%	.022
Visiting Art Exhibits	Going to Opera	87%	.024
Church	Attend folk dancing	81%	.026
Church	Art classes	80%	.026
Visiting Craft Exhibits	Art classes	86%	.027
Church	Symphony concerts	80%	.056
Church	Fraternities & clubs	81%	.079
Competitive Sports	Outdoor activities	85%	.080
TV Classical Music	Symphony concerts	80%	.095
Competitive Sports	Spectator sports	82%	.106
Church	Attend choral concerts	89%	.110
Church	Volunteer work	83%	.114

(a) b/c is the ratio of the number of people who do the less common activity, but not the more common one, to the number of people who do the more common activity, but not the less common one. If the more common activity preconditions the less common activity, then b/c approaches zero.

One other noteworthy feature of Table 5-2 is that watching classical music on television or listening to it on the radio is a precondition for attending symphony concerts or the opera in person, as well as for acting or working with a theater group. (Note, however, that it does not appear as a condition for arts-related activities of many other sorts.) It may be that an investment in such programs would be a way of building audiences for live performances, although our data are only suggestive on this point.

To summarize, as in Chapter Three, our search for "preconditions" has proved largely unrewarding. The few pairs of activities that might be of interest serve merely to re-emphasize the importance of church-related activity in the South, and to suggest a possible role for televised music in building audiences for live performances. Even here, we are unable to establish a definite cause-and-effect relationship.

Determinants of Participation

Having determined what sets of activities tend to be pursued jointly in the South, our next step is to ask what sorts of Southerners are drawn to each of these activity-clusters. As in Chapter Three, we shall use multiple regression to address this question. Our guiding hypothesis is that characteristics predisposing participation are the same for the South as for other regions; comparison of results presented here with those given in Chapter Three should cast light on the validity of this hypothesis.

For the most part, we shall be examining the effects on participation of the same variables we examined in Chapter Three. Region, of course, can not be included, since our sample is composed entirely of residents of the South. The HumRRO study also did not include a measure of church attendance (apart from "participation in church or church-related activities", which is part of our "community and family activities" cluster [see above, Figure 5-2]), so we are unable to examine the effects of that variable (or of the variable of general social activity level, for which, we suspect, the church attendance variable serves as a proxy). Other than that, the demographic and background variables used in the analysis below are approximately the same as those available from the 1973 Harris survey:

Education. Measured both in years (ascertained by recoding to the midpoints of the categories offered) and as a dichotomous 0-1 variable identifying college attenders. These two measures of education are combined in Table 5-3, containing standardized effects, as a single "block" variable (See Heise).

Number of dependent children. The number of children under 16 living at home. (The Harris survey used the number under 18, but this should not make any appreciable difference in the analysis.) As before, those with seven or more children were counted as having seven only. Persons not answering this question were assumed to have no children living at home.

Income. Respondents were asked only their "approximate family income." We recoded responses, in dollars, to the midpoints of the categories offered. Missing responses are assigned the mean income of those answering the question, as in Chapter Three.

Race. A black/white/"other" trichotomy, as before, with "other" serving as the reference point, and dummy variables identifying black and white respondents. These dummy variables are combined into a single "block" variable in Table 5-3. Cases giving no response for this variable are excluded from the analysis.

Religion. A Catholic/Protestant/"other" trichotomy, with "other" serving as the reference point for determining the effects of Catholicism or Protestantism. Dummy variables are again combined into a "block" variable in Table 5-3. Missing responses for religion are excluded from the analysis.

Sex. A dichotomous variable, coded zero for women and one for men. Missing responses are excluded from the analysis.

Age. As before, we entered both age in years and an age-squared term to take account of possible nonlinear effects of age. The two have been "sheafed" in Table 5-3. We shall examine age effects in more detail, below. Missing responses are assigned the mean age, to avoid attrition of cases.

Size of place. Taking rural respondents as a reference category, we entered dummy variables for "town" (2500-100,000 population), "city" (100,000 and over), and "suburbs" (within thirty miles of a city). This allows us to see how each of these categories differed from the rural category (and, by implication, from each other). The three dummy variables have been combined as a "block" variable in Table 5-3. Missing responses are excluded from the analysis.

Marital status. The HumRRO study, probably through an oversight, did not ask respondents about their marital status. As a necessary expedient, we have scored respondents as married (=1) if they answered questions about their spouses' education, and unmarried (=0) if they did not. The effect of any error in this indirect measurement process will be to reduce the apparent effect of marital status on participation.

Occupation. This variable, not available on the Harris survey, will let us examine further the apparent effects of education. Does it work by certifying people for occupations where support for the arts is "expected?" Using Census Bureau occupational codes into which responses were coded by HumRRO, we have entered dummy variables for five occupational groups, treating a sixth (managerial and other white-collar occupations) as our reference point. The five categories for occupation identified by dummy variables are: professional occupations; blue-collar and farm workers; housewives; retirees; and students. (The rationale for combining farmers and farm workers with blue-collar workers stems from the fact that the HumRRO sample includes very few farmers. Farmers comprise only 6-7% of the current Southern population in any case and the HumRRO study appears to have undersampled these; so there are very few farmers available for analysis. Since we are controlling for "size of place", effects of farm life due to rural residence will be separated from those of occupation per se, and little is lost by combining farmers and blue-collar workers here. Respondents who did not list an occupation were excluded from the analysis. In Table 5-3, the effects of these five dummy variables were combined into a single block variable).

In Chapter Three, we also controlled for variables measuring early involvement in the arts, whether as an active participant or through various "appreciation" activities. We have here constructed two variables which are roughly analogous to the measures of "exposure" and "appreciation" in our earlier analysis:

Active exposure. This is measured as the number of activities in the "literary activities," "active visual arts," and "musical performance" clusters (see above, figure 5-2) which respondents indicated they had engaged in before they were 18 years old. All of these items indicate early involvement as an active participant oneself--as, e.g., a musician, painter, or actor.

Passive exposure. This resembles our "appreciation" variable of Chapter Three: it is the number of activities in the "cultural life" cluster of Figure 5-2--those involving attendance at various cultural events as a spectator--which respondents indicated they had engaged in before they were 18.

Finally, we have two measures reflecting the presence of possible "barriers" to greater participation. One of these is comparable to the "access" variable of Chapter Three.

Access. The number of activities in the "cultural life" cluster which respondents indicated had been available, in the previous 12 months, within 30 miles of their home. The other "barrier" measure is a new variable, not available from the Harris 1973 study, perhaps of particular interest to Federal Government policy-makers:

Physical handicap. A dichotomous variable, scored "1" if respondents indicated that they had a handicap "which would keep [them] from taking part in certain leisure activities [they] might otherwise enjoy" and scored "0" otherwise.

These independent variables were entered into multiple regression equations to predict the level of involvement in each of the seven activity-clusters we identified earlier. Our measures of involvement in each of the activity clusters were simple counts of the number of activities in which respondents claimed participation during the previous 12 months. After removing cases containing missing information on one or more of our independent variables (no missing responses were coded by HumRRO for the dependent variables), we were left with 1543 valid cases.

Tables 5-3 and 5-4 display the results of the multiple regression analyses. As before, the second table presents the "unstandardized" results on the full array of variables, and is available for reference. The first table summarizes the results adequately for most purposes and will be the focus of our interpretation.

As in our earlier analysis, what the numbers in the tables show is the net contribution of each of the predictors at the left to explaining variation in each dependent variable, after statistically controlling the effects of all of the other predictors. Thus, to say that income has no "effect" on arts participation does not necessarily mean that wealthier people are no more likely to participate: rather, it means that among persons of similar education, the same residence, similar backgrounds of youthful participation, and so on, participation does not vary with income. Obviously, income is correlated with a number of factors--like education, and participation during youth--which do have effects, and it may be a correlate of participation. What an insignificant

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effect in the table shows is that income per se is not a major cause of participation.

In general, the results presented in Tables 5-3 and 5-4 are consistent with our findings in Chapter Three. There are, in general, fewer significant effects than in our previous analysis, a result partially due to the fact that the Harris study contains nearly double the number of cases contained in the HumRRO study. Most of the significant effects we do find, however, were also present in the earlier analysis. In particular, the effects of early exposure to and involvement in arts-related activity are large and consistent. With the measures of early involvement available for the HumRRO study, this means principally that people who were engaged in various activities before age 18 are likely still to be engaged in them. For this reason, we shall return below to the question of who is likely to take up these activities early.

The effects of our control variables on outdoor and social activities, community and family activities, and home-centered non-arts activities can be seen in the tables, and are of marginal interest in the present report. More pertinent are questions of what variables affect the other four, arts-related clusters. We shall simply summarize those results here:

Cultural life. Attendance at cultural events of various sorts, coupled here with watching them on television or listening on the radio, is the activity cluster most satisfactorily explained by the variables we have available. Our background variables explain nearly 50% of the variation among individuals in this type of participation. The strongest effect is that of early activity of the same sort (our "passive exposure" variable), and the effect of this type of early activity is greater on participation in "cultural life" than on any other cluster, as might be expected. There is an additional significant effect, however, from the "access" variable (as we found in Chapter Three). People with better access to the cultural arts attend them more often. This

Table 5-3

Effects on Participation, HumRRO Study
Standardized Regression Estimates

Predictor	Activity Cluster Home-centered,(b) Non-arts	Outdoor &(b) Social Activities	Literary(b) Activities	Active(b) Visual Arts	Musical(b) Performance	Cultural(b) Life	Community and(b) Family Activitie
Education(a)	.082	.084	.031	.051	.018	.116	.127
# of children home under age 16	-.039	.051	.040	.047	-.004	.013	.296
Income	-.011	.051	.020	-.046	-.024	.053	.089
Race(a)	.077	.057	.049	.093	.021	.017	.102
Religion(a)	.032	.054	.069	.068	.051	.037	.124
Sex (male)	.054	.194	-.017	-.099	.018	-.061	.013
Age(a)	.267	.440	.077	.064	.064	.140	.119
Size of place(a)	.038	.102	.045	.027	.053	.072	.095
Marital status (married)	.137	-.019	-.096	.064	-.059	-.053	.072
Occupation(a)	.127	.095	.152	.077	.055	.029	.108
Exposure:							
Active arts	.056	.022	.221	.327	.276	-.021	.012
Passive arts	.120	.174	.122	.036	.051	.531	.135
Barriers							
Physical Handicap	-.048	-.058	.014	-.027	-.007	-.032	-.012
Access to arts	.293	.085	-.026	.009	-.028	.158	.070

(a) Coefficients reported for these predictors are "sheaf" coefficients (see Heise) which combine effects of several conceptually related regressors into a single block. No signs are given to these coefficients, but the nature of each affect can be understood by interpreting the appropriate unstandardized coefficients in Table 5-4.

(b) Underlined coefficients are significant at the .05 level after correcting for deviations from simple random sampling

Table 5-4

Effects on Participation, HumRRO Study
Unstandardized Regression Estimates

Predictor	Home-centered(f) non-arts	Outdoor(f) Activities	Literary(f) Arts	Visual(f) Arts	Musical(f) Arts	Cultural(f) Arts Attendance	Community and(f) Family Life
Education:(a)							
Years	.119	.017	.0101	.0103	-.0055	.0772	.0570
college attendance	-.456	-.355	-.0378	-.139	.0149	.317	-.0357
# of children at home under age 16	-.086	.104	.197	.0361	-.00180	.0336	.298
Income	-.00000260	.0000107	.00000101	-.00000360	-.00000124	.0000141	.00000922
Race:(b)							
black	.000513	.0833	-.179	.0760	.0289	.113	.445
white	.622	.480	-.145	.308	-.0162	.227	.00822
Religion:(c)							
Catholic	.366	.563	-.155	-.0275	.0316	-.355	.592
Protestant	.273	.348	-.149	-.0187	.0902	-.415	.533
Sex (male)	.269	.879	-.0195	-.171	.0207	-.353	.0297
Age:(a)							
linear component	.0534	-.114	-.0161	.00200	.00950	.0586	.0164
quadratic component	-.00105	.000562	.000179	-.0000609	-.000122	-.000370	-.0000880
Size of place:(d)							
City	-.200	.0478	.0649	-.00334	-.0730	.523	-.175
Suburb	-.0541	-.187	.0396	-.0126	-.0352	.296	-.228
Town	.155	.109	.0614	.0422	-.0113	.510	.0297
Marital Status (married)	.763	-.0968	-.120	.122	-.0751	-.345	.182

Table 5-4 (continued)

Effects of Participation, HumRRO Study
Unstandardized Regression Estimates

Predictor	Home-centered(f) Non-arts	Outdoor(f) Activities	Literary(f) Arts	Visual(f) Arts	Musical(f) Arts	Cultural(f) Arts Attendance	Community and(f) Family Life
Occupation:(c)							
Professional	-.0144	-.0680	.0847	.0709	.0542	.158	-.0358
Blue Collar	.143	-.0635	.0413	-.0767	.0313	.0360	.0155
Housewife	.0917	.0231	.0379	.0668	.0111	.0923	.168
Retiree	.0942	-.198	-.0411	.0935	-.0240	.0169	-.0273
Student	-1.212	-.881	.350	-.110	.107	-.194	-.353
Exposure:							
Active Arts	.0622	.0219	.0548	.125	.0695	-.0265	.00600
Passive Arts	.0881	.117	.0201	.00904	.00848	.453	.0448
Barriers:							
Physical Handicap	-.370	-.409	.0249	-.0721	-.0121	-.288	-.0408
Access to Arts	.185	.0492	-.00368	.00194	-.00405	.116	.0199
(constant)	3.355	3.985	0.467	-0.206	.0180	-2.341	-0.971
# items in cluster	11	9	3	3	2	13	4
R^2	.331	.377	.201	.179	.106	.480	.242

(a) coefficients in these groups should be interpreted jointly; interpretations of individual coefficients can be misleading (see Stolzenberg)

(b) dummy-coded variables; effects are relative to "other" race as a reference category

(c) dummy-coded variables; effects are relative to "other" religion as a reference category

(d) dummy-coded variables; effects are relative to "rural area" as a reference category

(e) dummy-coded variables; effects are relative to "managers and white collar employees" as a reference category

(f) underlined coefficients are significant at the .05 level after correcting for deviations from simple random sampling and low response rate by assuming sampling error is double that obtained from a simple random sample of the same size.

is the strongest effect of that variable, save for the puzzling effect access appears to have on "home-centered non-arts" activity. Also, although the size-of-place block variable does not have a significant effect, Table 5-4 shows that city- and townspeople are more likely to engage in "cultural life" activities than suburban or (especially) rural people. It may be that referring to "access" within thirty miles (as this variable was defined) is not entirely sufficient to take account of effects of this type of barrier to participation.

Age also has a significant effect on participation in cultural life activities: participation increases with age, but at a decreasing rate. Our results suggest that this sort of participation peaks around age 70.

The three clusters of activities that were combined in Chapters Two and Three as the "performing arts" cluster turn out here to have rather different correlates; it is therefore convenient that the cluster analysis separated them in these data.

Literary activities. The best predictions concerning participation in creative writing, acting or working with a theater group, and attending lectures or classes on literature, art history, and the like can be made on the basis of our index of whether one did these things, and other "active arts" activities, as a teenager. But participation in literary activities also reflects an effect of the "passive exposure" variable--that is, of whether one engaged in "cultural life" activities at an early age. There is a substantial, but uninteresting effect of occupation: inspection of Table 5-4 will show that it results because students are more likely than others to write and to attend lectures and classes. The only other significant results for this cluster indicate that married people and Protestants are less likely to engage in literary activities than the unmarried and those of "other" religions (Catholics are intermediate between Protestants and "others"), and that age has an effect: it is U-shaped. Activity of this sort decreases until mid-life (about 45 years of age), then increases, controlling, of course, for the other variables in our analysis.

Active visual arts. Participation in activities in this cluster, which include painting, sculpture, various crafts, and attending classes in these subjects, is related also to having engaged in similar activities before age 18 ("active exposure"). It is also related to sex and to race (the only arts activity-cluster which is): women and whites are more likely to engage in active visual arts activities than men and blacks or those of "other" races. The effect of age is not statistically significant, but it is mildly negative.

Musical performance. This cluster of instrumental and vocal performance is the cluster least satisfactorily explained by the variables at our disposal, all of which explain only about 11% of the variance. The only statistically significant effect is that of having done similar activities as a teenager--hardly a surprising effect. It will be recalled that in Chapter Three we found church attendance to have its largest effect on the "performing arts" cluster, and observed that it was largely through its effect on musical activity. Since this seems likely to be especially the case in the South, it is regrettable that the HumRRO survey did not include questions that would enable us to explore this connection further.

Although we shall not dwell on the determinants of activities in the other, non-arts clusters, we should note that for them, as well as for the four we have observed here, the effects of education are substantially lower than we observed in Chapter Three. We shall turn below to a more detailed examination of the education effect—or, in most cases, lack of effect.

Other variables which appear to make little difference, when others are controlled, include sex, race, income, religion, and the presence of children in the home. Physical handicaps have a consistent negative effect on participation of all sorts (except what we have called "literary activities"), but in no case is the effect large enough to be statistically significant.

Effects of Education

Although, in general, our analysis of the HumRRO data from a sample of residents of the South gives results consistent with those of the analysis of the 1973 Harris survey of a U.S. general population sample, there is, as we have noted, one important difference: the effects of education are much smaller, in general. This particularly applies to the four clusters of arts-related activities. With the Harris data, we found significant effects of the years-of-school variable on all of the clusters even remotely connected with the arts, and an additional positive effect of college attendance on the "cultural life" and "music listening" clusters. Here, neither education variable has a significant effect by itself on any of the arts-related clusters, and only the "cultural life" cluster is significantly affected by the "block" variable which combines the effects of both education variables.

As Table 5-5 shows, although education is a powerful predictor of nearly all sorts of activity (the "musical performance" cluster is an exception), and its relationship to activity holds up well when we control for the other background factors available, including income and occupation, the effects drop to insignificance when we also control for the early exposure variables and for access to cultural facilities. At no point does the college attendance variable make a significant additional contribution.

One possibility, of course, is that the effects of education are simply less pronounced in the South than elsewhere in the U.S.; but before we jump to that conclusion, we need to examine the possibility that the difference in education effects between this analysis and the analysis of the

Table 5-5

The Education Effect on Participation (Standardized Regression Coefficients)

Activity Type	Zero-order			Controlling Demographic Variables			Controlling Demographic Variables, Exposure, Barriers		
	Years of Education	College	Sheaf	Years of Education	College	Sheaf	Years of Education	College	Sheaf
Home-centered Non-arts	.397	-.153	.292	.251	-.083	.192	.130	-.082	.082
Outdoor & Social Activities	.401	-.165	.289	.207	-.065	.161	.127	-.070	.084
Literary Activities	.187	-.041	.157	.130	-.010	.122	.048	-.030	.031
Active Visual Arts	.159	-.070	.109	.126	-.054	.090	.033	-.073	.051
Musical Performance	.057	.017	.072	.049	.030	.075	-.026	.012	.018
Cultural Life	.322	.075	.384	.258	.070	.316	.073	.049	.116
Community and Family Activities	.141	.010	.149	.196	-.009	.189	.138	-.014	.127

Underlined coefficients significantly different from 0 at .05 level after adjusting tests on assumption that sampling error in HumRRO study is double that in a simple random sample of the same size.

Harris data is an artifact of the different variables included in the analysis. In particular, so much of the variance in arts-related behavior is "soaked up" by our measures of behavior before age 18 (which were not available for inclusion in the analysis of the Harris data), that we need to see whether that fact has reduced the apparent influence of education.

Table 5-6 sheds some light on that question. It shows the standardized effects of our demographic variables, including education, on the two exposure variables. What sorts of people, it asks, acquire the early exposure to the arts--as participants and as spectators--which seems to be such a powerful predictor of later involvement? Unfortunately, the HumRRO data only allow us to answer that question in terms of the respondents' present characteristics. That is, we cannot look at what kinds of families they come from, only how they have wound up. We should therefore be cautious in drawing causal inferences on the basis of the results in this table.

When we find, for instance, that size of place has a significant effect on what we have called "passive exposure," it is obviously absurd to suppose that present residence determines what someone did as a teenager. It must be the case (and it could be shown with other data that it is the case) that present residence is highly correlated with residence as a teenager: in other words, that it is serving here as an imperfect measurement of the variable of previous residence, and those who grew up in cities of suburbs attended more cultural events than those who grew up in towns or the country.

Sex, on the other hand, changes so infrequently that we can assume that its effects are as the table represents them. Women are much more likely than men to have had early exposure, of both sorts, to the arts. We found only one effect of sex on arts involvement in Tables 5-3 and 5-4: what this tells us is that, while there may be sex differences in present participation, they are merely the extension into the present of differences that were evident before age 18. When our respondents were growing up, boys were clearly less likely than girls to be exposed to the arts, whether as participants or spectators.

The age effect on "active exposure"--that is, on early activity as a participant—is also fairly easy to interpret. If we can believe our respondents' recollections, there is evidently a "period effect" here. Those Southerners who were born around 1925 are apparently more likely to have been active in the arts in their childhood and teenage years than those born either earlier or later. It is tempting to speculate about the nature of the 1930s, but we shall refrain.

When we get to the question that prompted the table in the first place, however, interpretation becomes more difficult. Education has strong (in fact, the strongest) "effects" on both sorts of early participation. But saying that it "caused" the early exposure is difficult.

There are two possibilities in the interpretations of these results, with quite different policy implications. With the present data, we can only discuss them, not resolve the question of which is more important. On the one hand, to the extent that these early experiences with the arts were acquired more-or-less involuntarily in the schools, then we would find, as we do, that the more schooling one has, on the average, the higher the score on the exposure indices. If that is the case, then differences in education have indeed caused differences in exposure and thereby caused differences in participation in later life. The effect of education on adult participation was not evident in Tables 5-3 and 5-4 because we controlled there for the mechanism by which it had that effect—namely, by increasing early exposure.

On the other hand, it could as easily be the case that those who come from family backgrounds where they are likely to be exposed to the arts are likely also to stay in school for more years. If that is the case, education

Table 5-6

Standardized Effects of Demographic Variables on Exposure Measures

	Passive Arts Exposure	Active Arts Exposure
Education (sheaf)	.289	.324
# children home under 16	-.017	-.031
Income	.046	.015
Race (sheaf)	.044	.030
Religion (sheaf)	.040	.011
Sex (male)	-.149	-.218
Age (sheaf)	.049	.177
Size of Place (sheaf)	.110	.073
Marital status (married)	-.057	-.016
Occupation (sheaf)	.057	.093
R^2	.183	.207

per se has no effects on exposure, and therefore no indirect effects on adult participation. The apparent effects of education in Table 5-6 are there because education is a proxy for some other factor that we have not measured--parental social class, for instance.

The evidence in Chapter Three from the Harris survey, which asked specifically about in-school exposure, suggests that arts education does indeed make a difference, but we cannot reinforce that tentative conclusion from the HumRRO data. Given the apparently great importance of early arts exposure and activity on adult behavior patterns, future research on this subject, we believe, should examine that early exposure in much greater detail, distinguishing exposure in school from exposure through the family, for instance (and probably through churches, which seem to have particular pertinence in the South, as well), and ascertaining whether the exposure was elective or involuntary. Such research should also obtain detailed information on the families of origin for respondents; such information is crucial for determining the source of the observed association between education and exposure.

Summary

In this chapter, we first examined the structure of leisure-time activity among Southerners, using data from the HumRRO study conducted for NEA. Our procedures were, as far as possible, identical to those in Chapters Two and Three. We found the following:

(1) Allowing for the different (and larger) set of activities in the HumRRO survey, compared to the 1973 Harris survey, the activity-clusters that emerged from the analysis were substantially similar to those we identified in Chapter Two, though they make finer distinctions among active arts-related activities than our earlier clusters did.

(2) This suggests that, although Southerners have different (and usually lower) levels of arts-related activities, participation in those activities is organized in much the same way as for other Americans-- , the same activities "go together" in the sense that a given person is likely to do, or to avoid, those in a particular cluster.

(3) Four "arts-related" clusters emerged from the analysis: a "cultural life" cluster, involving attendance at various cultural events as a spectator; and three "participation" clusters—one involving literary and dramatic activities, one for active participation in crafts and the visual arts, and a "musical performance" cluster, quite distinct from the other two performance clusters.

(4) The fact that the three "performance" clusters remained as separate clusters in this analysis, while for the Harris survey they emerged as a single cluster, may suggest that these three forms of activity are more "segmented" in the South: activity in one having fewer implications for activity in the others in the South than in the non-South. But this is, at best, a hypothesis rather than a firm conclusion.

(5) A search for sets of activities in which some are preconditions for others revealed that church participation and televised performances of arts-related activity may be routes leading to further participation in arts-related for Southerners, though this is again a suggestion rather than a firm conclusion.

Having identified seven clusters of activities, we then attempted to replicate the analysis in Chapter Three, so far as possible, by examining the effects on participation in activities on each type of (1) a set of background variables similar to that employed in Chapter Three, (2) variables measuring exposure to similar activities before age 18, and (3) two variables indicative of barriers to participation: access to cultural facilities, and presence of a physical handicap. Among the more important results were the following:

(1) Once again, the "access" variable affected only the "cultural life" cluster--i.e., attendance at various sorts of events--among the arts-related clusters, but its effect was, as before, substantial.

(2) Age continued to have significant effects, although often not linear: i.e., participation goes down and then up, or vice versa.

(3) Having a physical handicap has only a small, and statistically insignificant, effect on participation in arts-related activities.

(4) The most powerful predictor of present activity of any sort was activity of the same sort before age 18. That is, adult behavior patterns are largely extensions of patterns established early.

(5) For the most part, the correlates of various sorts of activity were found to be consistent with those observed in Chapter Three--suggesting that the determinants of these activities are much the same in the South as elsewhere. However, far fewer effects were statistically significant (in particular, the effects of education were minimal), which we suggest is due to the inclusion in the analysis of the measure of activity prior to age 18, as well as the smaller sample size of the HumRRO study.

Given the importance of early activity as a predictor of late activity, and given that its inclusion in our analysis apparently removed some of the effects evident in the analysis in Chapter Three, we turned to an examination of the correlates of early exposure, whether active or passive, to the arts. The HumRRO study had almost no information on family background or childhood environment, so interpretation of the results is highly inferential.

We concluded that:

(1) Men are far less likely than women to have had childhood or teenage exposure to the arts, whether as participants or spectators.

(2) Residents of cities and suburbs (who are presumably more likely to have grown up in an urban setting) are more likely than others to have attended a variety of cultural events in their early years.

(3) It appears that those respondents born around 1925 are more likely to have participated in arts activities of various sorts as children than those born either earlier or later.

(4) Education is strongly related to early exposure (of both sorts) to the arts, but it is impossible to say whether that exposure is a result of education, or whether both education and early exposure reflect family and community values that we have not measured.

We closed the chapter with a plea for further research on the nature and determinants of arts exposure and involvement early in life, given its evident effect on adult patterns of behavior.

Appendix V-A

Results of Guttman Scaling of HumRRO Participation Clusters

Activity Cluster	# items in Cluster	Scalability	Reproducability
Home-centered, Non-arts	11	.247	.832
Outdoor and Social Activities	9	.389	.790
Literary Arts	3	.232	.938
Visual Arts	3	.645	.917
Musical Arts	2	.444	.920
Cultural Life	12*	.325	.812
Community and Family Life	4	.518	.844

*Because the Guttman scaling procedure utilized permits a maximum of 12 items in a Guttman scale, it was necessary to remove one of the thirteen activities in the "cultural life" cluster in order to test it for scalability. The choice of which activity to remove probably does not markedly affect results of the test. We removed "Watching jazz performances on television" for this test.

CHAPTER 6

Demand for Activities

When we observed in Chapter Four that barriers to participation seem, if anything, to be lower in the South than elsewhere, we did not mean that they are unimportant there. Clearly actual participation does not perfectly mirror desire to participate. Unlike the 1973 Harris survey, the HumRRO study includes data on desired participation, or (as we have referred to it above) "demand" for participation.

In this chapter we shall examine the structure and correlates of total demand--that is, demand whether presently met or not. To get a measure of this, we have combined two sets of questions from the HumRRO study, those dealing with actual participation in each of the 45 activities, and those inquiring, for each, whether the respondent would like to participate "somewhat more," "more," or "a great deal more." Respondents who were not participating in an activity and did not wish to "increase" their participation were given a score of zero on this demand measure; those not participating but indicating some desire to participate were given a score of 1/3; those not participating and wishing to increase their participation moderately were scored 2/3; while those who participate presently and those who do not but very much wish to were scored 1.

Structure of Demand

Figure 6-1 shows the structure of overlap in demand for the 45 items, displayed once again in a space defined by the first three of six dimensions in a multidimensional scaling solution. Overall, the arrangement is quite similar to that in Figure 5-1, which showed the structure of participation. This, of course, is not coincidental, since our measures of total demand are in part based on measures of participation. Once again, home-centered,

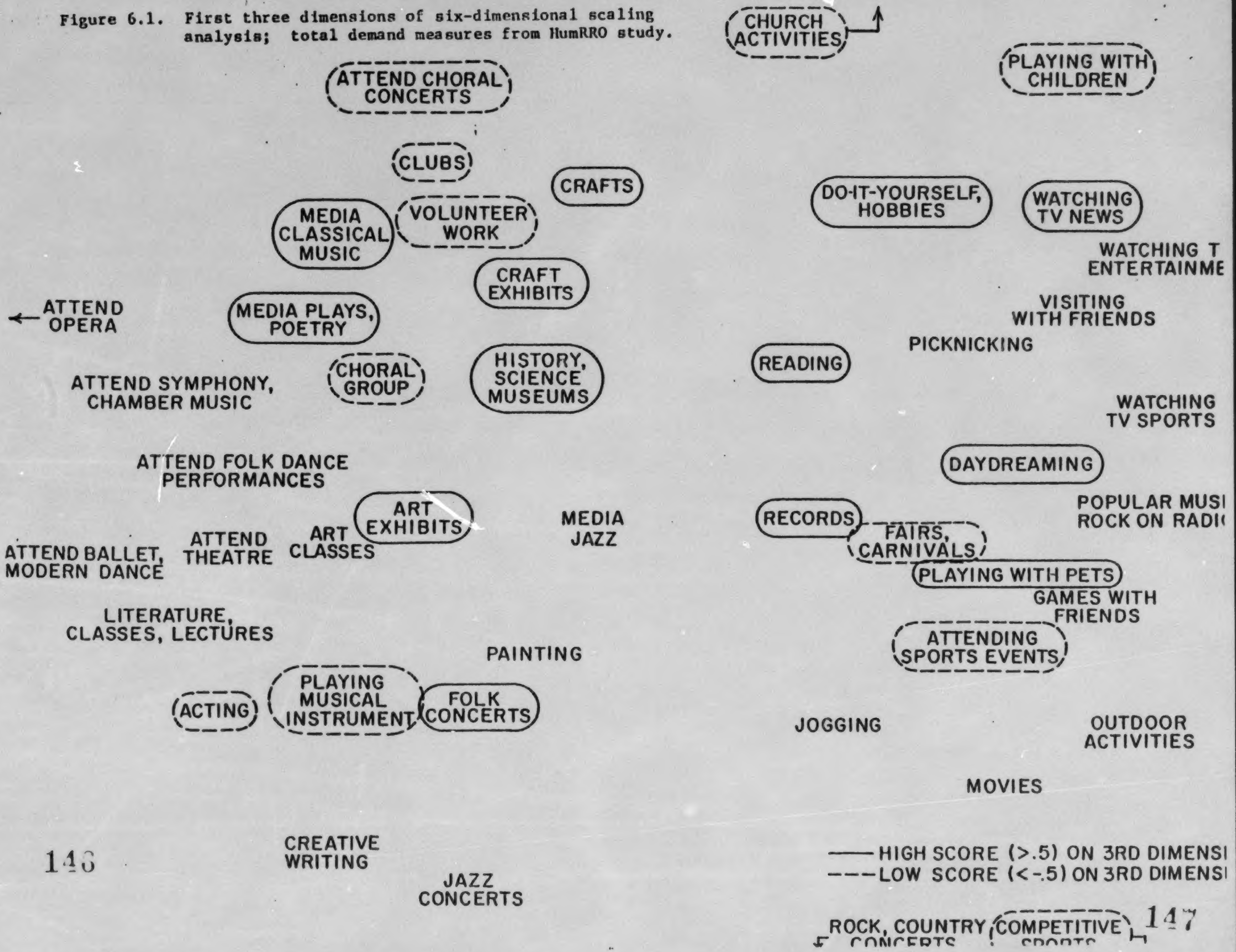


Figure 6.1. First three dimensions of six-dimensional scaling analysis; total demand measures from HumRRO study.

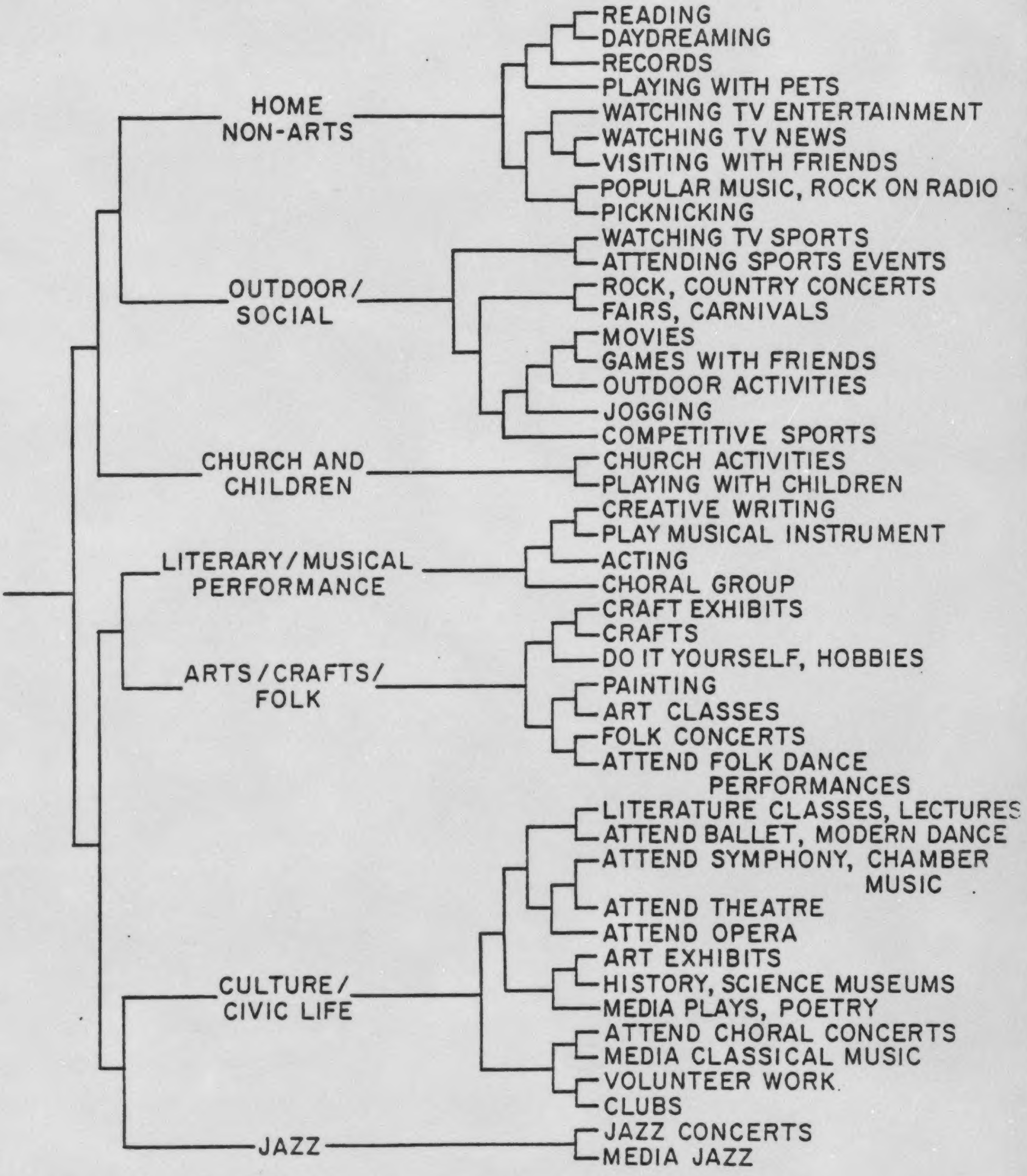
non-arts activities are in the upper-right quadrant, while sports and social activities are at the lower right. There is a clear arts/non-arts dimension running left to right. There are some differences in detail, though, and their meaning becomes clearer when we look at the results of the cluster analysis, in Figure 6-2.

While participation was organized almost as much by the setting of activities and their physical requirements (whether they take place outside the home or not, whether they are active or passive) as by the specific *content*, what we see in the structure of demand is much more clearly determined by patterns of taste. This should not be surprising: what people actually *do* reflects what they *can* do as well as what they would *like* to do. We are looking in Figure 6-2 at a "purer" measure of what people say they would like to do.

We have a clear distinction between arts activities, at the bottom of the dendogram, and non-arts activities, at the top. This appears to be *the* major organizing principle for leisure-time preferences (more so than for actual leisure-time *activity*). As the figure shows, the last clusters to be joined, if the analysis is allowed to proceed to the end, are the large non-arts cluster at the top and the arts cluster at the bottom. We chose to stop the clustering with seven clusters, although six would have been equally good. (The small "jazz" cluster would have been combined at the next step with the "cultural/civic" cluster. We felt that since the jazz audience was evidently somewhat distinct from the others, it was worth looking at separately.)

For the most part, to repeat, what we see here is a clustering of activities that are similar in terms of content. The association of participation in church activities with musical activities of various sorts disappears: it seems to have existed in the first place because church is *where* a great deal of music is performed. Similarly, attending craft exhibits and attending art

Figure 6.2. Results of cluster analysis, based on six-dimensional scaling analysis of total demand for participation (HumRRO data).


HOME NON-ARTS
READING
DAYDREAMING
RECORDS
PLAYING WITH PETS
WATCHING TV ENTERTAINMENT
WATCHING TV NEWS
VISITING WITH FRIENDS
POPULAR MUSIC, ROCK ON RADIO
PICKNICKING
OUTDOOR/ SOCIAL
WATCHING TV SPORTS
ATTENDING SPORTS EVENTS
ROCK, COUNTRY CONCERTS
FAIRS, CARNIVALS
MOVIES
GAMES WITH FRIENDS
OUTDOOR ACTIVITIES
JOGGING
COMPETITIVE SPORTS
CHURCH AND CHILDREN
CHURCH ACTIVITIES
PLAYING WITH CHILDREN
LITERARY/MUSICAL PERFORMANCE
CREATIVE WRITING
PLAY MUSICAL INSTRUMENT
ACTING
CHORAL GROUP
ARTS/CRAFTS/ FOLK
CRAFT EXHIBITS
CRAFTS
DO IT YOURSELF, HOBBIES
PAINTING
ART CLASSES
FOLK CONCERTS
ATTEND FOLK DANCE PERFORMANCES
CULTURE/ CIVIC LIFE
LITERATURE CLASSES, LECTURES
ATTEND BALLET, MODERN DANCE
ATTEND SYMPHONY, CHAMBER MUSIC
ATTEND THEATRE
ATTEND OPERA
ART EXHIBITS
HISTORY, SCIENCE MUSEUMS
MEDIA PLAYS, POETRY
ATTEND CHORAL CONCERTS
MEDIA CLASSICAL MUSIC
VOLUNTEER WORK
CLUBS
JAZZ
JAZZ CONCERTS
MEDIA JAZZ

exhibits were associated when we looked at actual behavior (they are similar in terms of their setting and in terms of the demands they impose on those who go), but they turn up here in separate clusters; attending craft exhibits is now grouped with doing crafts--which is similar in terms of the interests it presupposes, but is a rather different sort of behavior. Attending jazz concerts was clustered in Figure 5-2 with attending concerts of popular or country music, while listening to jazz on television or radio was in the same activity cluster as listening to radio drama and poetry; here the two jazz items are grouped together.

Bearing in mind, then, that we are talking here about interests that tend to go together, rather than actual activities (perhaps potential audiences rather than present ones, although that assumes that people who say they would like to do something actually might do it under some circumstances), let us simply discuss the clusters, one by one.

> Home-centered, non-arts. This cluster of interests was well-reflected in the structure of activities in Figure 5-2 as, indeed, it should be. (There seems little reason why people should not be able to do these activities if they want to.) These are, or can be, solitary activities, for the most part, engaged in at home: reading, watching television entertainment programs, listening to popular music, engaging in spontaneous and unstructured interaction with friends or pets. (It is interesting that watching television news programs turns up here as well.) Hobbies and do-it-yourself activity, similar to these in their setting, have moved down with the crafts cluster, which they resemble in content.
>
> Outdoor activities. This cluster of interests also closely mirrors an actual cluster of activities, except that attending jazz

concerts has left the cluster to join up with listening to jazz in other settings, and watching sports on television has moved over from those activities it resembles in its form (such as watching television entertainment) to join up with watching sports in other settings.

Church and children. When we looked at activities, this two-item cluster was grouped with volunteer work and club activity: the same people are likely also to be active in church affairs and with their children. But these correlations evidently result from external demands more than from individuals' own preferences. When asked what they would like to do, the church and children items split off from the civic and community activities, and fall near the other non-arts items. Civic and community activities, as we shall see, are tied closely to a number of arts items.

Literary activities/Musical performance. Here we see that two sets of activities that were separated when we examined behavior (and rather widely separated at that) are joined when we examine preferences. In the dendogram in Figure 5-2, playing a musical instrument and singing with a choral group were in a separate branch from working with a theater group and creative writing. But here the four activities are joined. Evidently the four attract much the same set of people, but the structure of access and opportunity is such that different people wind up doing them. We do not wish to over-interpret these data, but one could recall that the musical activities appeared to be linked in some way with church-going, while the others were not. It may be that we are looking at two separate "communities" with different patterns of activity--a musical community, centered around church choirs and church music; and a "literary" and drama community tied, perhaps, to a community theater group. In any case, these data show that the two groups share similar tastes.

Arts/Crafts/Folk. That pattern of tastes is relatively distinct from another cluster we can identify, which incorporates the "active visual arts" cluster of participation, and much else besides. Besides painting, art classes, and crafts, we now find attending craft exhibits, and hobbies and do-it-yourself activities--both items similar in content to the original three, but different, perhaps, in setting. In addition, there is a "folk/ethnic" component to this cluster that was not present when we looked simply at behavior. Those whose tastes run to the visual arts and to crafts are also likely to favor folk music and folk dance. These last two items have moved into this cluster from the "cultural life" cluster which was made up of items dealing with attending things. When we focus on content rather than behavior, as we are doing here, however, these folk arts items cluster with crafts and the visual arts.

Jazz. As we mentioned above, those who like jazz form a potential audience relatively distinct from the other clusters, and we have kept them separate here, although they could have been combined with the next cluster without doing great violence to our description of the structure. Notice again that this cluster is based on content (the type of music) rather than on the nature of the activities involved.

Cultural life. Here, once again, we find a generalized cluster comprising attendance at cultural events, and this is partly an exception to our rule that "demand" will be more structured by content than by form of activity. It appears that there is, to a very great extent, a single audience for high culture of all sorts--at least that the separate audiences overlap to such a great extent that we are justified in treating them as a single audience. They are distinct, on the one hand, from those who have and desire little or no arts involvement at all, and they are relatively distinct from those who are or would like to be involved as participants. When we look at actual behavior, we may be seeing the results of felt social obligation, but in Figure 5-4 we are clearly looking at patterns of taste: these people not only go to plays and concerts, but they are likely to watch them on television. While it is of considerable interest to examine those who watch the arts on television but do not attend them in person, these data suggest that desires for the two forms of "attendance" are very highly correlated indeed.

This is not to suggest that there is not a social aspect to these tastes. There clearly is: notice the presence in this cluster of the items for volunteer work and club activities. We are able to say, with these data, that those who are or wish to be involved with the cultural life of their communities, to support the arts by their attendance (if not active participation), are very largely the same people who are or wish to be involved in the secular civic life of their communities. We cannot, with these data, say whether they are likely to regard support for the arts as an aspect of a more general civic duty, but if they do it is a duty they apparently wish to perform, and it extends to watching the right television programs.

Table 6-1 shows the correlations among the seven clusters. Notice, as the dendogram in Figure 6-2 implies, that the arts clusters are more highly correlated with one another than with the non-arts clusters, and that the intercorrelations among the non-arts clusters are higher also than those between arts and non-arts clusters. Also observe that, with one exception, all of the

Table 6-1

Intercorrelations Among Demand Clusters

	Home, Non-Arts	Outdoor & Social	Church & Children	Literature & Music	Arts & Crafts	Cultural & Civic	Jazz
Home, Non-Arts	(1.0)						
Outdoor & Social	.538	(1.0)					
Church & Children	.240	.186	(1.0)				
Literature & Music	.164	.209	.042	(1.0)			
Arts & Crafts	.392	.299	.149	.302	(1.0)		
Cultural & Civic	.305	.266	.150	.398	.535	(1.0)	
Jazz	.227	.256	-.007	.195	.213	.362	(1.0)

correlations are positive, as was also the case when we were looking at actual behavior. If, as we surmised, general activity level is an important underlying variable, variations in that level appear to result in large part from variations in overall desire for activity, although an alternative explanation for both findings lies in "response set"—a tendency to answer survey questions either positively or negatively.

Correlates of Demand

Using the same set of independent variables as in the previous chapter, we have examined the correlates of our seven "demand-clusters," with a multiple regression analysis. The results are shown in Table 6-2 (where the coefficients are "standardized" and those variables measured by several indicators are "sheafed") and Table 6-3 (where the unstandardized coefficients and the separate "dummy" variables are presented, for reference).

In part, of course, the results parallel those for the correlates of actual activity: to the extent that these desires are met, they should. But, in general, Tables 6-2 and 6-3 show rather more in the way of significant coefficients. This suggests that the independent variables we have at our disposal are, collectively, better predictors of tastes than of actual behavior (and, on the average, the proportion of variance they explain is slightly higher). Let us examine the effects of the independent variables one at a time, bearing in mind, again, that these are net effects—i.e., the difference each variable appears to make in the desires of people who are similar with respect to all the other variables in the analysis.

Education. Once again, education per se appears to make little difference, once early arts exposure is controlled. As we saw in Chapter Five, the education effects found in most research appear to be due to the fact that education works either through or in tandem

Table 6-2

Standardized Regression Coefficients, Audience Demand

Independent Variable	Home, Non-Arts	Outdoor & Social	Church & Children	Literature & Music	Arts & Crafts	Cultural & Civic	Jazz
education (sheaf)	.056	.057	.019	.012	.042	.180	.038
# children	-.029	.076	.379	.036	.038	.048	-.087
income	-.031	.062	-.003	-.016	-.057	.076	.035
race (sheaf)	.059	.027	.094	.117	.054	.078	.199
religion (sheaf)	.022	.077	.186	.041	.020	.026	.051
sex (male)	.016	.192	-.025	-.060	-.197	-.101	.125
age (sheaf)	.325	.433	.066	.143	.103	.157	.049
size of place (sheaf)	.067	.049	.096	.028	.033	.078	.032
marital status (married)	.120	.009	.132	-.036	.063	-.031	-.096
occupation (sheaf)	.097	.057	.120	.114	.070	.076	.061
active exposure	.042	.037	-.013	.326	.198	.035	-.042
passive exposure	.114	.126	.060	.097	.255	.463	.385
physical handicap	-.013	-.039	.006	.040	-.007	.007	-.013
access to arts	.294	.094	.029	-.033	.070	.086	.020

Table 6-3

Unstandardized Regression Coefficients, Audience Demand[f]

Independent Variable	Home, Non-Arts	Outdoor & Social	Church & Children	Literature & Music	Arts & Crafts	Cultural & Civic	Jazz
education[a]:							
years	.060	.078	.008	-.004	.036	.147	.014
college	-.265	-.324	-.033	-.003	-.088	.281	-.094
# children	-.046	.159	.237	.030	.058	.119	-.053
income	-.000005	.00001	-.0000002	-.000001	-.000009	.00002	.000002
race[b]:							
black	.097	-.200	.254	-.054	-.366	.159	.590
white	.404	.044	.004	-.388	-.021	-.588	.075
religion[c]:							
Catholic	.178	.828	.553	-.175	-.074	-.264	.033
Protestant	.150	.544	.495	-.129	-.122	-.288	-.062
sex (male)	.056	.892	-.035	-.112	-.666	-.566	.172
age[a]:							
age	.023	-.112	.017	-.025	.020	.025	-.006
age^2	-.0007	.0005	-.0002	.0002	-.0003	.00004	.00005
size of place[d]:							
city	-.156	.130	-.160	-.033	-.105	.372	.018
suburb	-.006	-.124	-.124	-.082	-.116	-.049	.001
town	.138	.208	.028	-.007	.006	.478	.053
marital status (married)	.481	.047	.207	-.076	.239	-.197	-.148
occupation[e]:							
professional	.031	-.006	-.044	.095	.191	.178	.030
blue collar	.040	-.146	-.021	-.018	-.042	-.091	.016
housewife	.016	-.200	.044	-.075	.101	.142	.086
retiree	-.066	-.294	-.066	-.091	.234	-.261	-.044
student	-.693	-.481	-.290	.352	-.242	.739	-.056
active exposure	.034	.038	-.004	.135	.149	.044	-.013
passive exposure	.061	.086	.012	.027	.128	.384	.078
handicap	-.074	-.282	.013	.115	-.036	.061	.004
access to arts	.134	.055	.005	-.008	.030	.061	-.027

(CONTINUED)

(CONTINUED)

Independent Variable	Home, Non-Arts	Outdoor & Social	Church & Children	Literature & Music	Arts & Crafts	Cultural & Civic	Jazz
constant	4.589	5.543	0.050	1.609	1.273	-1.222	0.101
# items in cluster	9	9	2	4	7	12	2
R^2	.330	.370	.336	.262	.303	.459	.219

Notes:

[a] Coefficients in these groups should be interpreted jointly; interpretation of individual coefficients can be misleading (see Stolzenberg).

[b] Dummy-coded variables; effects relative to "other" race as a reference category.

[c] Dummy-coded variables; effects relative to "other" religion as a reference category.

[d] Dummy-coded variables; effects relative to "rural area" as a reference category.

[e] Dummy-coded variables; effects relative to "managers and white-collar employees" as a reference category.

[f] Underlined coefficients are significantly different from 0 at the .05 level, on assumption that sampling error is twice as large as that from a simple random sample of this size.

with early exposure to the arts. There is, however, an independent effect of years of schooling on the "cultural and civic" cluster--that comprising passive exposure to the arts, either "live" or through the media, plus such civic activities as volunteer work and fraternity or club activities. Such effects might reflect a felt social responsibility to support the arts that is associated with increased education. We should repeat that we are looking here at desire for these activities, not actual behavior. Education evidently increases the impulse to participate, and not simply by exposing people to the arts at an early age. Going to college has no significant effects beyond those implied by the additional years of schooling.

Marriage and number of children. These two variables have no significant effect on demand for arts-related activities, save for interest in jazz, which both reduce (and this is not an effect simply of age, which is controlled here). They both increase demand for activities in the "church and children" cluster, as might be expected; marriage increases demand for "home-centered non-arts" activities, and the presence of children in the home increases demand for "outdoor and social" activities.

Income. With education and occupation controlled, we saw above that income had few effects on participation, and these tables show that it has few effects on demand as well. The single, significant exception is again the "cultural and civic" cluster, where income *per se* appears to increase the desire for participation. We speculated earlier that the effects of income on participation in this area might reflect the "barrier" of cost, but it appears that at least part of the difference in participation reflects an actual difference in desire to participate.

Race. The tables show four significant racial differences in tastes for leisure-time activities: other things equal, blacks are substantially more likely than whites and "others" to be interested in the "church and children" cluster and jazz, and blacks and "others" are more interested than whites in "cultural and civic" activities and in the "literature and music" cluster--writing, drama, instrumental or choral performance.

Religion. Religion has no significant effects on demand for arts-related activities, but this may well be due simply to the very small number of "others" (neither Catholic nor Protestant, and presumably mostly Jewish) in the sample. Both Catholics and Protestants are less likely than "others" (although not significantly so) to express a desire for any of the arts-related clusters, other than jazz, and both Christian groups are significantly more likely than "others" to express demand for activities in the "outdoor and social" and "church and children" clusters.

Sex. We saw in Chapter Five that men were substantially less likely than women to have the early exposure to the arts which appears to make a large difference in later participation. Here we find that, over and above any differences produced by early exposure, sex makes an appreciable difference in demand for various sorts of activities--more than it makes in actual participation (which may well often reflect a compromise between husbands and wives). Men are significantly more likely than women to be interested in "outdoor and social" activities and in jazz, and significantly less interested in "cultural and civic" activities and in the "arts and crafts" cluster of activities. This is not, to repeat, simply an extension of early differences in arts participation, for which we have controlled, but may indicate a further divergence between the sexes.

Age. Age, once again, is a powerful predictor: for four of the seven clusters, it is the best predictor among the background variables. Its effects are insignificant only for the "church and children" cluster and for the jazz cluster. Interest in the "home-centered, non-arts" activities decreases with age, as does interest in the "outdoor and social" and "literature and music" clusters. Interest in the "cultural and civic" cluster, on the other hand, increases at an accelerating rate with age, while interest in the "arts and crafts" cluster appears to peak in the mid-thirties, and decline thereafter.

Size of place. Suburban and city dwellers are less likely than small town people and rural folk, other things equal, to be interested in the "church and children" activities. And city or town residents are more likely than rural people or suburbanites to be interested in "civic and cultural" activities--again, other things equal. (Among the "other things equal," importantly, is access to facilities for cultural events.) What this association may tell us is not so much that residence affects tastes for leisure-time activities as vice versa.

Occupation. With education and income (among other things) controlled, occupation itself has no additional effects on demand for activities of various sorts. Inspection of the detailed breakdown in Table 6-3 confirms this. Only students differ significantly from the other groups, and they do so in predictable and uninteresting ways.

Early exposure variables. As in Chapter Five, the largest effects in the tables are those of early participation in activities similar to the ones we are looking at. The best predictor of demand for "civic and cultural" activities is a history of going to concerts and performances at an early age, for instance. And the best predictor of a desire for musical or literary activity is a history of such activity before age 18. In general, we can see that "active exposure" (as a participant) affects demand for similar activity at present--the "literature and music" and "arts and crafts" clusters, while "passive exposure" (as a spectator) affects not only these two clusters but also, and more strongly, the "spectator" clusters--"cultural and civic" activities and the jazz cluster. But since this variable also has significant, if smaller, effects on two of the three non-arts clusters, we must raise again the possibility of underlying variable of general activity level, extending throughout one's lifetime, and affecting both activities and desire for more activity of almost all sorts.

Barriers. Since the presence of a self-reported physical handicap had no appreciable effects on arts-related activity, it should not be surprising to discover that it has none on demand for these activities either. Nor, for that matter, does it affect demand for activity of any sort, as we have defined it. The handicapped evidently share the tastes of other Southerners with similar educations, incomes, locations, and so forth. Our measure of access to the arts, however, does turn out to be related to several sorts of demand, but in rather puzzling ways. It has a small, but significant, relation to demand for "cultural and civic" activities--which can indicate either that the sheer availability of such activities stimulates demand for them, or that people who value such activities are likely to locate themselves where they have access to them. The access measure has larger effects, though, on both "home-centered, non-arts" activities and on the "outdoor and social" cluster, results for which we have not even a speculative explanation.

Summary

In this chapter, we examined both the structure of what we have called "total demand" for activities of various sorts, and the predictors of that demand. We have been looking, in other words, at what people say they would like to do, whether they actually do it or not. Among the more important results of this analysis are the following conclusions:

(1) Demand reflects patterns of taste much more clearly than does actual participation, which is affected more by such factors as opportunity to participate, setting of the activity, and the demands the activity places on participants. Thus, many activities which are similar in content but different in setting (going to concerts and listening to them on the radio, for instance) appeal to the same people, although somewhat different audiences actually engage in them. (2) The arts-related clusters which emerged from the analysis, in consequence, are more clearly defined on lines of the content of the activity than were the participation clusters we have seen earlier. (3) A "literature and music" cluster emerged as distinct from an "arts and crafts" cluster, which was more clearly linked to the visual arts, although it included a strong folk music/dance component. (4) On the other hand, a single, generalized "attendance" cluster remained, subsuming "consumption" of the arts, as a spectator--whether

"live" or through the media. Also included in this cluster were miscellaneous civic and club activities.

(5) A small cluster of activities having to do with jazz remained relatively distinct from these other activities, and we retained it as a separate cluster for later analysis.

(6) When we looked at what sorts of people express desires to participate in various sorts of activities, we found, in general, many more significant relationships than when we looked at actual participation. In other words, demand (or taste) appears to be more socially structured than actual participation.

(7) In part, this seems to be because the kinds of people who presently engage in some activity are the kinds of people who would like to do more of similar activities. Upper- and upper-middle class people, for instance, are not only more likely to do various "civic and cultural" activities, they are more likely to want to do the ones that they presently do not. Similarly, if people did what they say they would like to do, sex differences would be even larger than they are at present.

(8) On the other hand, there are some significant exceptions to this generalization. Black Southerners, for instance, express desires for greater participation of several sorts--and we found no significant racial differences in participation at present, with other things equal.

In the next chapter, we shall look at the disjunction between present activity and desired activity in more detail, in an analysis of unmet demand, and ask what population groups, if any, are not in fact doing pretty much what they say they would like to do.

Chapter Seven

The Structure and Correlates of Unmet Demand

We shall examine in this chapter the question of what sorts of people wish to engage in certain activities but do not in fact do so. In order to have a manageable number of activity types to look at, we have done an analysis of the structure of unmet demand similar to the previously presented analyses for participation and for total demand. This results in several types of unmet demands. When we look at what people say they would like to do, but do not do, we are again looking at responses determined by a mixture of content (which largely determines what they would like to do) and form (location, demands on participants, "barriers"—which determine what they are able to do). After ascertaining the structure of unmet demand, we attempt to predict membership in the different clusters using our now-familiar group of demographic, exposure, and access variables.

Structure of Unmet Demand

We performed a six-dimensional scale analysis, as in earlier chapters, using as input the correlations among responses to questions about how much respondents would like to do of each activity. Here, however, we have scored those who presently engage in an activity as zero—i.e., assuming that even if they would like to do more than they currently do, their demand is more nearly satisfied than that of someone who would like to do that activity but does not engage in it at all.* Since the multidimensional scaling here was simply an intermediate step in our effort to obtain types of unmet demand for subsequent analysis, we shall not analyze the scaling results extensively. Figure 7-1 presents the dendogram that resulted from cluster analysis of the overlap in unmet demand for the 45 items.

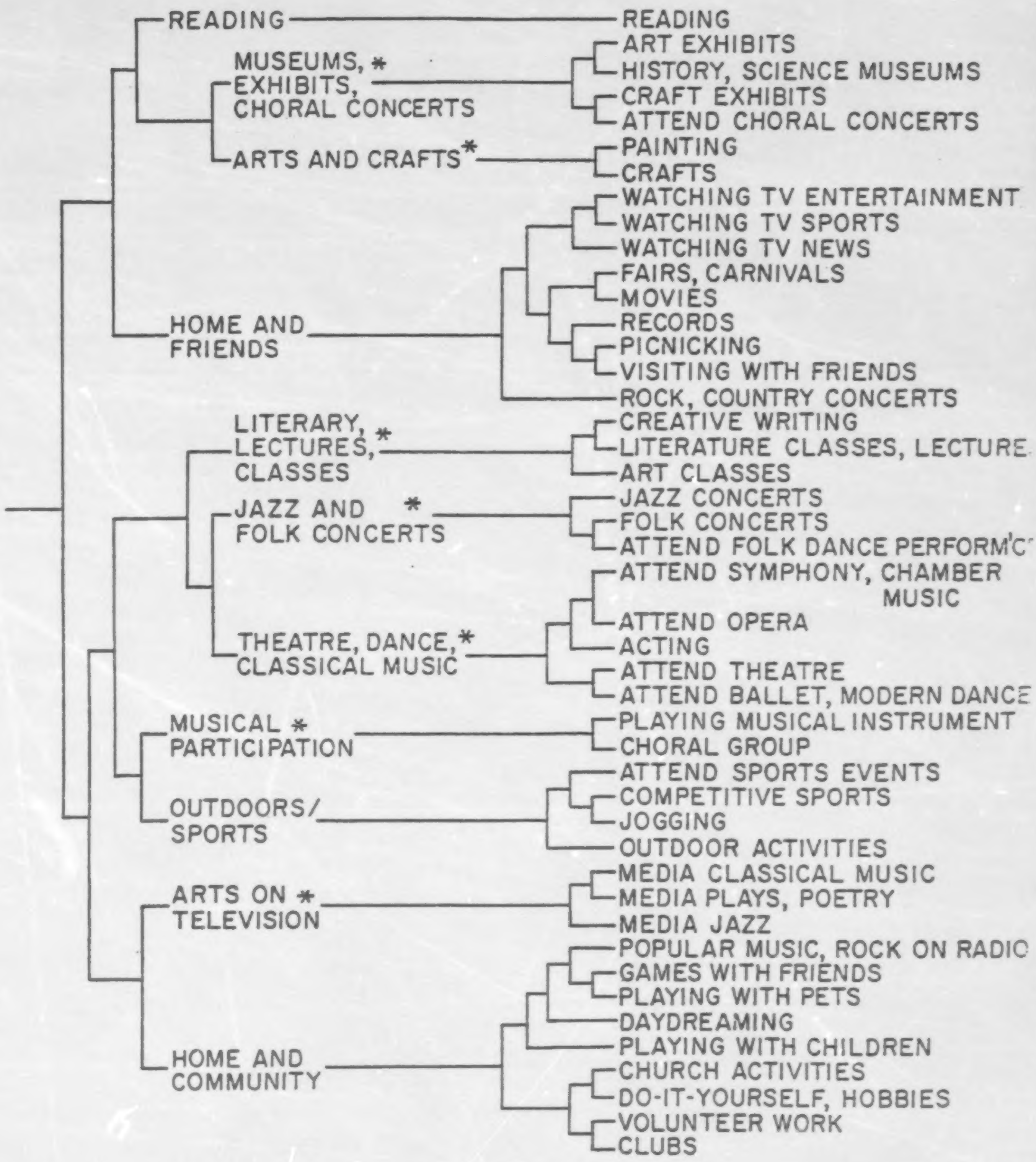
---

*We performed a similar analysis using simply the extent to which respondents said they would like to do "more" of each activity, without taking their present levels of activity into account. Since, as we shall see in chapter 8, those who presently do almost anything are quite likely to say they want to do more of it, the results were very similar to the results for present participation, and were, in our judgment, less satisfactory than this analysis of the desires of those not presently participants. It is for this reason that we have defined "unmet demand" in the way indicated in the text.

Based on that cluster analysis, we have extracted the following clusters, which we believe to be of particular interest to the Endowment, for later analysis:

> Museums, exhibits, and choral concerts. Four items, of which all but choral concerts have to do with attending museums and exhibits, whether of arts, crafts, historical or scientific interest.
>
> Art and crafts. Active participation in the visual arts, or in crafts. These two items were clustered with those above, but joined the cluster relatively late in the analysis. Since they are rather different in their nature, we have kept them as a separate cluster.
>
> Literary, lectures, and classes. These three activities--attending lectures or classes in art, literature, etc., and writing oneself—could well be included with the items in the "attending concerts and performances" cluster below. But, again, they join the cluster relatively late, and are sufficiently distinct in nature from the other items that we shall keep them as a separate cluster.
>
> Jazz and folk concerts. These "attendance" items were, in fact, merged with the next cluster by the analysis, but they joined it relatively late, so we have kept them separate from the "high culture" activities below for our later analysis.
>
> Attending concerts and performances. Except for the item on working with a theater group, all of these items deal with attending some event as a spectator: symphony concerts, ballet or folk dance, opera and theater—much the same people, it appears, are unable to do all of these, but would like to do them.

Figure 7.1. Results of cluster analysis, based on six-dimensional scaling analysis of unmet demand (HumRRO data).


READING
MUSEUMS, EXHIBITS, CHORAL CONCERTS *
ARTS AND CRAFTS *
HOME AND FRIENDS
LITERARY, LECTURES, CLASSES *
JAZZ AND FOLK CONCERTS *
THEATRE, DANCE, CLASSICAL MUSIC *
MUSICAL PARTICIPATION *
OUTDOORS/ SPORTS
ARTS ON TELEVISION *
HOME AND COMMUNITY
READING
ART EXHIBITS
HISTORY, SCIENCE MUSEUMS
CRAFT EXHIBITS
ATTEND CHORAL CONCERTS
PAINTING
CRAFTS
WATCHING TV ENTERTAINMENT
WATCHING TV SPORTS
WATCHING TV NEWS
FAIRS, CARNIVALS
MOVIES
RECORDS
PICNICKING
VISITING WITH FRIENDS
ROCK, COUNTRY CONCERTS
CREATIVE WRITING
LITERATURE CLASSES, LECTURE
ART CLASSES
JAZZ CONCERTS
FOLK CONCERTS
ATTEND FOLK DANCE PERFORM'C
ATTEND SYMPHONY, CHAMBER MUSIC
ATTEND OPERA
ACTING
ATTEND THEATRE
ATTEND BALLET, MODERN DANCE
PLAYING MUSICAL INSTRUMENT
CHORAL GROUP
ATTEND SPORTS EVENTS
COMPETITIVE SPORTS
JOGGING
OUTDOOR ACTIVITIES
MEDIA CLASSICAL MUSIC
MEDIA PLAYS, POETRY
MEDIA JAZZ
POPULAR MUSIC, ROCK ON RADI
GAMES WITH FRIENDS
PLAYING WITH PETS
DAYDREAMING
PLAYING WITH CHILDREN
CHURCH ACTIVITIES
DO-IT-YOURSELF, HOBBIES
VOLUNTEER WORK
CLUBS

* "ARTS" CLUSTERS FOR LATER ANALYSIS - SEE TEXT

Musical participation. A two-item cluster, including playing a musical instrument and singing with a choral group.

Arts on television. A three-item cluster made up of the items involving arts presentations on television--drama and poetry, classical music, and jazz.

The other clusters resulting from the analysis are groupings of the non-arts items, some in familiar clusters (e.g., the outdoor/sports cluster), others arranged somewhat differently. We presume the Endowment is not concerned with "unmet demand" for activities of this sort, and we shall not give extensive attention to either these clusters or their correlates, though the correlates are presented in Table 7-2 and 7-3 below. It is nonetheless notable that "reading" forms a one-item "cluster" of its own.

Table 7-1 shows the correlations among the clusters we shall be using in our analysis. As we have seen before, the arts-related clusters are, in general, more strongly related to one another than to the other clusters of unmet demand. It is of interest that all correlations in Table 7-1 are positive; people do not, evidently, have high unmet demand in one type of activity due to their high levels of participation (and hence, by our definition, low unmet demand) in other types of activity.

Correlates of Unmet Demand

Table 7-2 and 7-3 present the results of our regression analysis relating these clusters to the same set of independent variables we used in Chapters Five and Six. As in those chapters, the first table (7-2) shows the standardized coefficients and the "sheafed" effects of the variables measured by more than one indicator, while the second table (7-3) shows the unstandardized coefficients and is included primarily for reference. Once again, coefficients significantly different from zero (after making the assumption that sampling error in the

Table 7-1

Intercorrelations Among Unmet Demand Variables

	Reading	Museums, Exhibits, Choral Concerts	Arts & Crafts	Home & Friends	Literary, Lectures, Church	Jazz & Folk Concerts	Theater, Dance, Classical Music	Musical Participation	Outdoors, Sports	Arts on TV	Home & Community
Reading	---										
Museums, Exhibits, Choral Concerts	.187	---									
Arts & Crafts	.110	.326	---								
Home & Friends	.237	.375	.229	---							
Literary, Lectures, Classes	.098	.268	.330	.115	---						
Jazz & Folk Concerts	.041	.275	.228	.154	.286	---					
Theater, Dance, Classical Music	.087	.303	.253	.148	.459	.400	---				
Musical Participation	.091	.213	.193	.178	.223	.135	.289	---			
Outdoors, Sports	.074	.187	.219	.356	.146	.159	.182	.229	---		
Arts on TV	.068	.213	.129	.304	.186	.231	.253	.121	.101	---	
Home & Community	.072	.324	.200	.491	.184	.164	.171	.202	.328	.318	---

Table 7-2

Standardized Regression Coefficients, Unmet Demand

Predictor	Reading	Museums, Exhibits, Choral Concerts	Arts & Crafts	Home & Friends	Literary, Lectures, Classes	Jazz & Folk Concerts	Theater, Dance, Classical Music	Musical Participation	Outdoor & Sports	Arts on TV	Home & Community
education (sheaf)	.104	.016	.037	.114	.074	.075	.112	.019	.092	.008	.060
# children	.035	-.017	.018	.049	.034	-.042	.002	.055	.074	.006	.023
income	.028	-.046	-.044	-.038	-.014	.006	-.013	-.017	-.035	-.018	-.048
race (sheaf)	.080	.161	.116	.070	.114	.118	.091	.132	.080	.111	.122
religion (sheaf)	.039	.040	.032	.028	.065	.038	.068	.034	.024	.011	.069
sex (male)	-.018	-.124	-.210	-.046	-.099	-.066	-.170	-.084	.0003	-.044	-.051
age (sheaf)	.134	.088	.090	.046	.107	.098	.048	.171	.127	.063	.006
size of place (sheaf)	.021	.086	.057	.026	.030	.086	.046	.028	.058	.017	.034
marital status (married)	-.024	.046	-.002	-.018	.029	.064	.054	.060	.010	-.011	-.050
occupation (sheaf)	.115	.119	.031	.180	.033	.078	.152	.086	.095	.109	.113
active exposure	-.040	.002	.015	-.023	.138	-.003	.060	.055	.098	-.039	.052
passive exposure	.020	.014	.042	-.044	.034	.161	.119	.036	-.086	.023	-.054
physical handicap	.020	.048	.067	.057	.051	.039	.045	.050	.092	.082	.085
access to arts	-.071	-.118	-.021	-.124	-.003	-.036	-.054	.005	-.018	-.132	-.104

Table 7-3

Unstandardized Regression Coefficients, Unmet Demand

Dependent Variable

Predictor	Reading[f]	Museums, Exhibits, Choral Concerts[f]	Arts & Crafts[f]	Home & Friends[f]	Literary, Lectures, Classes[f]	Jazz & Folk Concerts[f]	Theater, Dance, Classical Music[f]	Musical Participation[f]	Outdoor & Sports[f]	Arts on TV[f]	Home & Community[f]
education:[a]											
years	-.003	.003	.005	-.042	.003	.010	.026	-.001	-.025	-.0002	-.016
college	-.024	-.029	.004	.115	.062	.006	.012	-.010	.059	.006	.020
# children	.005	-.008	.006	.031	.014	-.014	.001	.019	.037	.001	.013
income	.0000004	-.000002	-.000002	-.000002	-.0000006	.0000002	-.0000008	-.0000006	-.000002	-.0000004	-.000003
race:[b]											
black	.052	.006	-.035	-.001	-.020	-.155	.024	-.015	-.187	.029	-.081
white	.003	-.261	-.167	-.160	-.185	-.230	-.179	-.177	-.243	-.069	-.304
religion:[c]											
Catholic	-.028	.037	-.046	-.035	.009	.024	-.049	-.061	.021	.011	.027
Protestant	-.016	.069	-.049	.022	-.067	-.016	-.140	-.044	-.016	.011	.125
sex (male)	-.006	-.126	-.160	-.065	-.091	-.049	-.226	-.066	.0004	-.022	-.065
Age:[a]											
age	-.006	-.006	-.004	-.007	-.005	-.002	-.010	-.016	-.006	-.006	-.001
age^2	.00008	.00003	.00002	.00006	.00003	-.000009	.0001	.0001	.00001	.00006	.00002
size of place:[d]											
city	-.005	-.102	-.058	-.035	-.033	-.076	-.035	.008	.086	.005	.058
suburb	-.010	-.134	-.044	-.060	-.043	-.074	-.103	-.026	.081	-.010	.047
town	-.0006	-.066	-.051	-.041	-.020	-.019	-.023	-.012	.071	-.0007	.052
marital status (married)	-.009	.052	-.002	-.028	.030	.054	.080	.053	.012	-.006	-.072
occupation:[e]											
professional	.016	.042	.008	.044	.197	.064	.054	.003	-.001	.003	-.064
blue collar	-.021	-.006	.030	-.079	-.022	.004	-.088	-.040	-.058	-.030	-.077
housewife	-.024	.046	.015	-.067	-.004	.028	-.078	-.075	-.055	-.005	-.065
retiree	-.041	-.088	-.004	-.045	.027	.052	-.013	-.019	.012	-.055	-.137
student	.019	.213	.028	.460	.012	.092	.304	.032	.158	.079	.19[illegible]

(continued)

(cont.)

active exposure	-.003	.0005	.002	-.007	.028	-.0005	.018	.010	.024	-.004	.015
passive exposure	.001	.002	.005	-.009	.004	.018	.023	.004	-.014	.002	-.010
physical handicap	.010	.076	.079	.125	.073	.045	.093	.061	.159	.064	.166
access to arts	-.003	-.015	-.002	-.022	-.0004	-.003	-.009	.0005	-.002	-.008	-.017
Constant	0.247	0.844	0.580	1.603	0.538	0.330	0.575	0.769	1.070	0.360	1.023
# items in cluster	1	4	2	9	3	3	5	2	4	3	9
R^2	.050	.104	.085	.102	.090	.079	.124	.080	.066	.056	.080

Notes:

[a] Coefficients in these groups should be interpreted jointly; interpretation of individual coefficients can be misleading (see Stolzenberg).

[b] Dummy-coded variables: effects relative to "other" race as a reference category.

[c] Dummy-coded variables: effects relative to "other" religion as a reference category.

[d] Dummy-coded variables: effects relative to "rural area" as a reference category.

[e] Dummy-coded variables: effects relative to "managers and other white collar employees" as a reference category.

[f] Underlined coefficients are significantly different from 0 at the .05 level, on assumption that sampling error is twice as large as that from a simple random sample of this size.

HumRRO study is twice as large as that for a simple random sample of the same size) have been underlined.

What we have here, assuming that we can take respondents at their word, is an indication of where the potential audiences for these activities are located, socially, within the South. That is, the data in these tables allow us to discuss what sorts of people say they would like to participate in activities of different sorts, but do not. These data can be used, inferentially, to address the question of barriers to participation, perhaps more satisfactorily than we have been able to do by looking at questions which asked about such barriers explicitly (see below, Chapter Nine).

Compared to our earlier analyses of actual participation and of total demand, we find few effects of the "early experience" variables of exposure (active or passive) and education, and large and consistent effects of the demographic characteristics of race and sex. Women and non-whites, it appears, are the principal groups of Southerners who exhibit unmet demand for arts-related activity, and they do so for nearly all of the clusters we are examining. (That we are not dealing simply with response set here is indicated by the fact that neither group was appreciably more likely to report unmet demand for activities in the "non-arts" clusters.)

At the risk of repetitiveness, we shall here simply summarize the significant predictors of unmet demand for each of the seven arts-related clusters.

> Museums, exhibits, choral concerts. As might be expected, this cluster of "attendance" variables is significantly related to our "access" variable, measuring the physical availability of such activities--one of only two arts-related clusters to be related to that predictor. Other than that, the only significant predictors of unmet demand are sex (women are more likely than men to exhibit it) and race (whites are less likely than others to display unmet demand).

Arts and crafts. Here again, sex and race are strong (and the only significant) predictors of unmet demand: non-whites and (especially) women are more likely than whites and men, respectively, to say they would like to do these things but do not.

Literary, lectures, classes. Aside from sex and race, which have the same effects as above, the only significant predictor of unmet demand for activities in this cluster is early, active involvement in arts-related activities.

Jazz and folk concerts. Here, the effect of sex is not significant, although it is in the same direction as for the clusters above, but race once again shows a significant effect: blacks and, especially, "others" are less likely than whites to be as active as they would like in this area. Early arts exposure as a spectator ("passive exposure") also predicts unmet demand for this later sort of exposure.

Theater, dance, classical music. The "passive exposure" variable also has an effect on unmet demand for *this* sort of later passive exposure, and so does education—the only case where education does have an effect on unmet demand. Those with more education are more likely to exhibit unmet demand for these activities. (The significant effect of occupation is almost entirely due to the high unmet demand of *students*.) Surprisingly, perhaps, the "access" variable does not show a significant effect: that is, the absence of facilities for concerts, dance, and so forth does not predict the presence of unmet demand, when the other variables are held constant. Once again, sex and race have significant associations with unmet demand: women and non-whites display it more often, other things equal.

Musical participation. The (by this time) familiar effects of race and sex are evident when we look at unmet demand for musical participation, as well. In addition, we find here the only significant effect of age on unmet demand for arts-related activities: the young are more likely to display it, whether because older people had lower levels of demand to begin with, or have abandoned their initial desires to participate, or have in fact satisfied them. We cannot say from the information in the HumRRO study which of these possible explanations for the effect of age is correct.

Arts on television. Here the effect of sex, although in the same direction as above, is not significant. That of race, on the other hand, is present, significant, and about the same size as its effects on the other clusters. And here we find the one significant effect of physical handicap on unmet demand for arts-related activities.

This last result is rather puzzling: it is hard to say why non-whites and the handicapped should have higher levels of unmet demand for viewing arts programs on television, when other factors are held constant. Indeed, in the case of the handicapped, one might expect an effect in the opposite direction. This result suggests that we need to exercise caution in interpreting the findings for the other clusters: it is apparently not a matter of racial discrimination, for instance, or of the location of activities in areas that are more difficult for blacks than for whites to reach. It could be, on the one hand, that our measures are too imprecise to pick up what kind of activities we are dealing with: "museums," for instance, can contain all sorts of exhibits; "concerts" can cover a variety of different types of music. Alternatively, we may be dealing with problems of publicity: the events may be available (like arts-related television programs, for instance), but their availability may simply be less widely known to non-whites or the handicapped. We cannot, unfortunately, explore these alternative explanations much further with the data in hand, though we do look for differences in perceived availability in Chapter Nine.

What is clear is that the sorts of variables that explain variation in participation and in tastes (as reflected in what we called "total demand") do a rather poor job of explaining what sorts of people exhibit "unmet demand." Race and sex, which had relatively minor impacts on actual participation, when other things were controlled, are far and away the most important variables we have available for studying *unmet* demand, although we cannot, with these data, say why their effects are so large. It should also be pointed out, however, that--as Table 7-3 shows--all of the variables taken together explain only 10% or so of the variation in unmet demand; we thus know rather less about unmet demand than we do about participation or total demand.

Summary

In this chapter, we have looked at those people who say that they would *like* to participate in activities of various sorts, but report that they do *not* participate. To reduce the number of variables in the analysis, we performed six-dimensional scale analysis and cluster analysis, as in the earlier chapters. We then selected for analysis seven types of unmet demand for arts-related activities and four types of unmet demand for other sorts of activities. The bases for the clustering were a mixture of the *content* of the activities and the *setting*, similar to what we have seen before.

The single over-riding result of the regression analysis was that sex and race were strongly related to unmet demand for arts-related activities of *all* sorts while few other variables are at all related to unmet demand. Non-white respondents were more likely than whites in every case (other things equal) to report that they would like to engage in arts-related activities; women were more likely than men to do so (again, other things equal) for five of the seven clusters of arts-related activities. For a few activity types, previous exposure is positively associated with unmet demand. Interpretation of the results is complicated, however, by the fact that one of the clusters which showed this pattern of racial difference (and which also showed handicapped respondents to have higher levels of unmet demand than others) had to do with watching arts-related television programs--an area where one might expect racial differences in access to be minimal. We suggested that the difference might be due, in general, to racial differences in knowledge of availability, rather than genuine differences in accessibility.

Chapter Eight

Relation Between Participation and Demand

In this brief chapter, we shall demonstrate an obvious fact: that participation in almost every sort of leisure-time activity is positively associated with the desire for more participation. This fact bears on a question of considerable importance--namely, whether participation leads to demand. If the answer is yes, if doing something causes someone to want to do more of it, the policy implications are obvious. And if the answer is yes, we should find that those who presently do something are more likely than those who do not engage in that activity to say they want to do more of it.

Unfortunately, we could observe the same result for quite different reasons. It could simply be, for instance, that demand is "given" and that people are able to satisfy it, but only partially. If that were the case, we would also find that those who do some of an activity are more likely than those who do none to want to do more.

In other words, we cannot unambiguously say whether participation precedes demand, vice versa, or (most likely) both.* What we can do, though, is to demonstrate at least that it is possible that participation produces additional demand, and that the two variables are causally related--although which is cause and which effect, we cannot establish with these data.

Past and Present Participation

Table 8-1 presents some relevant data. For each of the 45 activities in the HumRRO study, we have computed the correlation between (1) present level

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*To provide a definitive answer to this question would require a panel study, where the same respondents are interviewed repeatedly. Given the importance of the question, such a study might well be worth the considerable expense.

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Past and Present Participation

Table 8-1 presents some relevant data. For each of the 45 activities in the HumRRO study, we have computed the correlation between (1) present level of participation and expressed demand for more participation;* (2) present level of participation and participation before age 18 ("past participation"); and (3) expressed demand for more participation and past participation.

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*To provide a definitive answer to this question would require a panel study, where the same respondents are interviewed repeatedly. Given the importance of the question, such a study might well be worth the considerable expense.

Not surprisingly, all three variables are almost always positively correlated, and usually fairly strongly. (The exceptions come primarily from very common, undemanding activities like television-watching and record-listening, where people appear to do as much as they want.) As we have noted in previous chapters, the association between past participation and present participation is very strong—perhaps especially so for the arts-related activities. The association between demand and both past and present participation is strong, although not so strong as that between the two participation measures.

The column at the right of Table 8-1 displays a figure that is crucial to the determination of whether present participation and demand for more participation are causally related: the partial correlation between the two, controlling for past participation. This figure tells us that the two variables are associated, even when we compare those with the same levels of past participation. The fact that the figures in this column are, in general, somewhat smaller than the "zero-order" correlations between present participation and demand (in the first column of the table) tells us that part of the "zero-order" correlation is due to the fact that people who engaged in some activity before they were 18 are more likely both (1) to participate in it now and (2) to wish to do more of it than they are doing. The fact that the partial

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*The "demand" variable in this analysis measures demand for more participation without regard to present participation. Note that this is different from both what we called "total demand" (i.e., doing something or wanting to do it) and what we called "unmet demand" (wanting to do something, but not doing it at all): this variable comes simply from responses to the questions about whether a respondent would like to do "more" of something, whether he does any of it or not at present.

Table 8-1

Intercorrelations Among Participation, Demand & Past Participation

0-order correlation of ...

Activity	Participation & Demand	Participation & Past Participation	Demand & Past Participation	Partial Correlation of Participation & Demand, Controlling Past Participation
Reading	.2261	.5058	.1644	.1680
Creative writing	.3624	.3828	.2793	.2880
Literary lectures	.2069	.3282	.1633	.1645
Watch TV entertainment	-.0035	.3343	.0418	-.0185
Watch TV news	.0099	.3101	.0327	-.0002
Watch TV sports	.1326	.5041	.1756	.0518
Visit art exhibits	.2814	.4285	.3136	.1713
Craft exhibits	.2642	.4498	.2505	.1752
History/Science museums	.2541	.4863	.2309	.1668
Paint, etc.	.3705	.5073	.2541	.2898
Crafts	.4145	.4835	.3146	.3158
Art classes	.2694	.2958	.2436	.2130
Choral concerts	.2892	.4978	.2903	.1743
Jazz concerts	.3606	.4227	.2788	.2789
Rock/country concerts	.3605	.4823	.3136	.2515
Attend folk concerts	.2617	.4346	.2550	.1732
Attend classical music	.3180	.4220	.3607	.1961
Attend opera	.2977	.2548	.2135	.2575
Attend fairs & carnivals	.1633	.3068	.0703	.1492
Media classical music	.2347	.6120	.1235	.2028
Rock, popular music on radio	.0547	.6391	.0501	.0296
Listen to records	.1059	.5858	.1217	.0430
Media jazz	.3031	.5923	.2212	.2190
Musical instrument	.3908	.4370	.3166	.2959
Sing in choral group	.3482	.3782	.2761	.2740
Attend live theater	.3191	.4085	.2572	.2427
Acting	.2286	.2226	.2325	.1865
Movies	.2365	.4668	.1661	.1823

(continued)

(cont.)

Activity	Participation & Demand	Participation & Past Participation	Demand & Past Participation	Partial Correlation of Participation & Demand, Controlling Past Participation
Media theatre	.2887	.5468	.2193	.2066
Attend ballet/ modern dance performances	.3599	.3866	.2797	.2843
Attend folk dance performances	.2279	.4260	.2140	.1547
Spectator sports	.2817	.4399	.2466	.1991
Outdoor activities	.4259	.4658	.3123	.3335
Church activities	.1890	.3699	.0610	.1795
Competitive sports	.5074	.4037	.3135	.4383
Play games with friends	.2286	.5412	.1619	.1699
Jogging, exercise	.3004	.4644	.2699	.2054
Volunteer activities	.1524	.3869	.1675	.0964
Club activities	.2343	.3991	.1199	.2049
Picnicking	.1260	.5397	.1254	.0698
Visit friends/ family	.0372	.5874	.0447	.0136
Play with children	*.5101	—	—	—
Do-it-yourself, hobbies	.2277	.5639	.1980	.1434
Play with pets	.2583	.5671	.1936	.1838
Daydreaming	.0498	.7012	.0745	-.0035

*Pearson correlation between participation and demand for more only presented here. Respondents were not asked if they "played with their children" before age 18.

correlations are not much smaller than the zero-order correlations* tells us that that is only a small part of the story: present participation and demand are linked, for the most part, by some connection other than that one.

Further Controls

One possibility could be that the background factors and barriers that we have examined in earlier chapters affect both participation and demand in ways that produce these associations: i.e., the kinds of people who presently do something are the kinds of people who wish to do more of that same thing, and participation and demand have nothing to do with one another, per se.

Table 8-2 explores--and rules out--this possibility. Here, we have grouped the arts-related activities for simpler analysis into the four activity-clusters revealed in Chapter Four, and we have constructed "demand" and "past participation" indices for the activities within each cluster.

As the table reveals, controlling for all of the demographic variables at our disposal reduces the associations between participation and demand only slightly--by about 20% at most, and hardly at all for the cluster of musical activities. Further controls for our "access" variables--availability and physical handicap--makes virtually no additional difference. Adding in the past participation measures reduces the associations a bit (as in Table 8-1), but the bulk of the zero-order association remains.

In other words, controlling for all the variables we can, we are unable to explain the association between present participation and demand for more participation, establishing at least a strong presumption that the two are causally related--that participation produces demand for additional participation or that the presumed causal relation between total demand and participation

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*On the average, the partial correlations are about two-thirds the size of the corresponding 0-order correlations; only one third of the participation-demand correlation can be attributed to past participation.

Table 8-2

Partial Correlations of Participation and Demand, Arts-Related Activity Scales

Activity Cluster	0-Order Correlation of Participation and Demand	Controlling Demographics	Controlling Demographics & Access	Controlling Demographics, Access and Past Participation
Literary Arts	.3485	.2876	.2847	.2219
Visual Arts	.4444	.3953	.3936	.3109
Musical Arts	.4143	.4013	.4006	.3193
Cultural Life	.4349	.3812	.3839	.2666

spills over into a relation between participation and demand for more participation. Most likely, as we said earlier, both processes are at work, and the two variables are linked reciprocally, but we cannot establish this with the present data.

Summary

In this chapter, we examined the relationship between participation in various activities and expressed demand for more participation. That association is almost always positive: i.e., those who now do something are more likely than those who do not to want to do more of whatever it is. This is consistent with the hypothesis that participation produces additional demand, but it does not prove it (and, in fact, that hypothesis cannot be proved with data like those from the HumRRO study). The association does not appear to be due to the common association of participation and demand with various background factors (including early participation), but we cannot establish the degree to which participation affects demand rather than vice versa.

Chapter Nine

Barriers and Access

Throughout this report, we have attempted when possible to examine the nature of barriers to participation. As we saw in Chapter Seven, there are some Southerners, at least, who say they would like to participate in arts-related activities, but do not participate. Given the Endowment's charter obligation to identify and insofar as possible to eliminate such barriers it would be of great use to be able to say something further about what prevents these people from doing what they say they would like to do.

The HumRRO study attempted to examine this question directly, asking for each of the 45 activities it examined, "What is the most important reason you haven't done more of this in the past year?" A dozen possible responses were offered, including most of the obvious possibilities, as well as an "other" category. Orend presents detailed tabulations of the responses to this repeated question (vol. I, chapter 4; and vol. II, appendix K).

Unfortunately, one of the alternatives offered was "prefer to do other things"--not a "barrier," properly speaking (see our earlier discussion of "barriers" in Chapter Four)—and this response was far and away the most frequently chosen. It was chosen so often, in fact, that there is no point, in our judgment, in attempting to analyze these responses further: to do so would simply reproduce, mirror-imaged, our earlier analysis of patterns of taste.

Lack of Knowledge as a "Barrier"

What we have tried to do is to focus on one sort of barrier: ignorance about the availability of opportunities to participate. As we saw in earlier chapters, the "access" variable often has substantial effects on participation: that is, the presence of facilities for various activities, combined with the knowledge that they are present, has a great deal to do, not surprisingly, with whether people engage in those activities. In our analysis, of course, we were relying on individuals' reports of whether such facilities were available, but for our purposes, it hardly mattered whether the facilities were not available to someone or whether they were available, but the respondent did not know it. In either case, they were effectively "unavailable."

Here we want to examine the question of whether ignorance of the availability of various sorts of activities is, in fact, a major barrier to participation. To the extent that it is, and to the extent that ignorance is concentrated among certain groups in the population, the policy implications will be obvious: publicity directed at those population groups should increase effective "access", and thereby increase participation.

In our proposal, we outlined what we thought might be a strategy for looking at this question—identifying groups of respondents from major metropolitan areas within the South, and comparing their perceptions of the availability of activities of various kinds to the actual situation in those metropolitan areas. Unfortunately it turned out to be impossible to identify the locations of respondents, either directly or indirectly.* An alternative, indirect approach was required.

What we have done is to inquire whether perceptions of the availability of various activities are socially structured in any way other than by location.

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*Information on the exact location of respondents was not available from HumRRO. We attempted to reconstruct their locations from their own reports of size of place and state, but the size-of-place codes were too gross to allow us to separate, for instance, Houston and Dallas, or Raleigh and Charlotte. In addition, since the size-of-place codes were chosen by respondents, they were often somewhat inaccurate (perhaps "approximate" is the better word), and it is often not clear what was being reported—central city population or metropolitan area, for instance. While this inaccuracy is not sufficient to cause major problems with our analysis in Chapters Five through Nine, it makes for major problems when the task is to assign respondents to specific cities.

In other words, in this chapter, we shall take the variable we have earlier called "access," and treat it as a dependent variable rather than using it to predict participation or demand. If "access" is related to some variable—race, for instance--when all other variables are held constant, presumably what is missing for some racial groups is not the actual availability of facilities, but the awareness that they are available. In other words, we assume that once size of place has been controlled, differences between social categories are due to differences in informedness, not to actual differences in availability. Moreover, in interpreting these data, we shall assume that those who say some activity is available are correct, while those who say it is not may or may not be correct. There is, of course, the possibility that someone might assume the presence of activities that are not, in fact, available, but that sort of error seems less likely than not knowing that an activity is, in fact, available.

The dependent, "access" variable is defined by looking at the activities in the "cultural life" participation cluster (see Chapter Five) and asking, for each respondent, how many are said to have been available within thirty miles during the previous twelve months. The cultural life cluster contains the activities of greatest interest to the Endowment, and also those most likely to be restricted in availability; it makes little sense, for instance, to ask about the availability of "playing with pets" or "playing with children". For these reasons we restrict our attention to perceived availability of "cultural life" activities.

In constructing the index for our analysis, "never available" and "don't know" responses were coded as 0; the other responses, indicating that the activity was at least sometimes available, were coded as 1. The scores for the 13 items were then summed, yielding an index with scores from 0 to a maximum of 13.

Tables 9-1 and 9-2 present the results (standardized and unstandardized, respectively) of the regression analysis relating this perceived availability index to the various background variables available in the HumRRO data. If perceptions were wholly accurate, we would expect that size of place might have an effect, but that probably no other variable would (with the other variables—including size of place—controlled).

As the tables show, size of place does have a significant, and substantial effect; urban and suburban people are more likely than townsfolk, and townsfolk in turn more likely than rural people, to report that these activities are available. Another unsurprising result is the relation of perceptions of availability to the two "exposure" variables: those with early involvement in the arts, as participants or as spectators, are more likely than others to be aware of the present availability of such activities. Perhaps another way to put this, given what we have seen to be the nature of these variables, is that those who are interested in the arts are more likely to know of their availability.

Aside from these effects, there are only two statistically significant coefficients in the table. Education is positively related to awareness, even with the other variables controlled, and age is also related to it: awareness increases until the mid-twenties, and decreases thereafter. The education result is not surprising: previous research has shown education to be related, other things equal, to media exposure, to general information level, and to knowledge of almost all sorts (Hyman et al.). The finding does suggest, however, that lack of information about what is available is a more important barrier for the poorly educated than for others. Similarly, if publicity were to be used in an audience-building campaign, these data suggest it would have its greatest impact among older people, if correctly targeted on this potential audience. The results indicate that older people are less likely than younger people to perceive cultural life activities to be available within 30 miles.

Table 9-1

Standardized Coefficients for Perceived Access

Predictor	Effect on Perceived Access
Education (sheaf)	.133
# of children under 16	-.021
Income	.056
Race (sheaf)	.077
Religion (sheaf)	.018
Sex (male)	-.010
Age (sheaf)	.172
City size (sheaf)	.242
Marital status (married)	.063
Occupation (sheaf)	.076
Active exposure	.126
Passive exposure	.155
Physical handicap	-.021
R^2	.326

Underlined coefficients are significantly different from zero at the .05 level, assuming sampling error double that found in a simple random sample of this size (N=1543).

Table 9-2

Unstandardized Coefficients for Perceived Access

Predictor	Effect on Perceived Access[a]
Education:[b]	
years	.235
college attendance	-.347
# of children under 16 at home	-.0745
Income	.0000202
Race:[c]	
black	-.194
white	.846
Religion:[d]	
Catholic	-.309
Protestant	-.278
Sex (male)	-.0796
Age:[b]	
linear component	.0510
quadratic component	-.00103
Size of place:[e]	
city	2.574
suburb	2.054
town	1.133
Marital status (married)	.552
Occupation:[f]	
professional	-.0375
blue collar	-.656
housewife	-.402
retiree	.229
student	.243
Exposure:	
active	.221
passive	.181
Physical handicap	-.259
(constant)	2.536
Maximum possible score	13
R^2	.326

(cont.)

Table 9-2 (cont.)

a: underlined coefficients are significantly different from zero at the .05 level, assuming sampling error double that found in a simple random sample of this size (N=1543).

b: coefficients here should be interpreted jointly; interpretation of separate coefficients here can be misleading

c: reference category for comparisons is "other" race.

d: reference category for comparisons is "other" religion.

e: reference category for comparisons is "rural area".

f. reference category for comparisons is "white collar and managerial" occupations.

The effects of occupation, income, and race are not significant, when each of these variables is considered with all others held constant. The estimates in Table 9-2 suggest, however, that race and social-class factors may be related to knowledge of what sorts of activities are available. Students and retired persons are relatively likely to perceive that activities are available; blue-collar workers and housewives, less likely; white-collar and professional people fall in between. The effects of income are not significant with education controlled, but they are in the same direction: high income people say that more activities are available. Race does not have a significant relation to perceived access, with the social-class variables controlled, but non-whites in our sample perceive fewer cultural life activities to be locally available than do the whites, other things equal. This may help to explain the high levels of unmet demand among non-whites that we observed in Chapter Seven.

Sex is not related to perceived availability, however, so the high levels of unmet demand among women must be due to something other than lack of information: some other sort of "barrier." Possibilities are obvious, but we do not have the data to explore them.

Summary and Recommendations for Future Studies

In this chapter, we have attempted to examine one sort of "barrier" to participation in arts-related activities--ignorance that opportunities are available. Insofar as we are able to say anything about it, it appears that such a "barrier" is most widespread among the poorly-educated (and thus among low-income people, blue-collar workers, and blacks) and among older people (although retired people are--non-significantly--better off than the employed).

Future studies of barriers to participation should do what the HumRRO study attempted to do--i.e., examine barriers in a less inferential way. It would seem desirable either not to allow "prefer to do other things" as a reason for non-participation, or (better) to undertake a detailed "reason analysis" (Lazarsfeld and Rosenberg), taking the matter one step further and asking why someone would "prefer to do other things." Certainly, there are a great many unanswered questions about the precise way that preferences, opportunities, and "barriers" interact to produce the patterns of participation that we have observed in this study.

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